00030090

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018

THE HISTORY OF ULSTER

SIR HENRY SIDNEY

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Artist unknown

THE HISTORY OF ULSTER

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

RAMSAY COLLES
LL.D. M.R.I.A. F.R.HIST.S.

30090
ac

VOLUME I

LONDON MCMXIX
THE GRESHAM PUBLISHING CO. LTD.
SIXTY-SIX CHANDOS STREET COVENT GARDEN

941.6
Col 14is
30090

TO THE MEMORY OF

THREE IRISH HISTORIANS

WHOM IT WAS MY PRIVILEGE TO
'ENTER ON MY LIST OF FRIENDS'—

WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY
PATRICK WESTON JOYCE
JOHN T. GILBERT

'WISHING THAT WHAT I WRITE
MAY BE READ IN [THEIR] LIGHT'

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

No apology is required for producing a history of Ulster planned on a scale sufficiently liberal to allow of a thorough treatment of the subject. The Province's magnificent record and the greatness of her achievements in so many spheres of activity have long clamoured for such a work; and it is in answer to the call that the present *History of Ulster* is now published.

The work was begun and was far advanced towards completion before the war. After the outbreak of hostilities, the issue was necessarily postponed and preparation for it interrupted. Just as this long period of enforced delay was drawing to a close, the gifted author's death occurred. It is matter for deep regret that he should have been deprived of the legitimate satisfaction of seeing the publication of the work which he had undertaken with enthusiasm and to which he had devoted years of zealous labour. It has been left to another pen than his to record, as a fitting close to her story, the honourable part which, true to her traditions, Ulster has played in the momentous struggle for the liberty of the world.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

Chapter		Page
I.	The Early Irish	1
II.	Religion and Law in Early Ireland	9
III.	The Mission of St. Columba	17
IV.	The Scandinavian Scourge	25
V.	Change and Decay	33
VI.	The Betrayal of Ireland	40
VII.	The Anglo-Norman Invasion	48
VIII.	King Henry in Ireland	56
IX.	The Earldom of Ulster	64
X.	King John in Ulster	72
XI.	Ulster and the Bruce Invasion	79
XII.	Ulster Independent	87
XIII.	O'Neill, Prince of Ulster	94
XIV.	An Able Viceroy	102
XV.	The New Legislation	110
XVI.	Progress of Ulster	117
XVII.	The Geraldine Revolt	124
XVIII.	The Submission of Ulster	132
XIX.	The Policy of Conciliation	140
XX.	The Religious Element	148
XXI.	Bad Money and Misery	156

Contents

Chapter		Page
XXII.	The Scots in Ulster	164
XXIII.	Shane O'Neill and the Crown	172
XXIV.	O'Neill the Great visits Elizabeth	181
XXV.	Shane again in Ulster	191
XXVI.	Sussex *v.* Shane	199
XXVII.	Sir Henry Sidney and Shane O'Neill	207
XXVIII.	Death of Shane O'Neill	215
XXIX.	Attempted Plantation	223
XXX.	Essex in Ulster	231
XXXI.	"Scotching" the Scot	238
XXXII.	The New Earl of Tyrone	245
XXXIII.	State of Ulster: Civil and Military	252
	Index	261

LIST OF PLATES

VOLUME I

	Page
Sir Henry Sidney	*Frontispiece*
St. Columba's House, Kells	20
Henry II	42
The Dublin Charter granted by Henry II (1171-2), and Seal	60
Carrickfergus Castle	70
Ships bringing Food to the Army of Richard II	98
The Cathach	114
Irish Men and Women, Temp. Elizabeth	170
Queen Elizabeth	194
The Reception of Sir Henry Sidney at Dublin by the Mayor and Aldermen after a Victory	210

Map of Ancient Ireland, showing Territorial Divisions at Period of Anglo-Norman Invasion. (Inset Map of Pale, 1515.)	52
Map of Ireland, 1567	216
Map of Ireland about 1570, showing Extent of Ormonde and Desmond Influence	226

HISTORY OF ULSTER

CHAPTER I

The Early Irish

Prehistoric Ireland—Fiction and Fact—The Irish an Aryan Celtic Race—The Milesian Invasion—Kimbaoth, King of Ulster—Thuathal, King of the North—Finn McCumhal and the Fenians—Niall of the Nine Hostages—St. Patrick in Ulster—Converts Dichu, an Ulster Chief—Builds First Church at Saul, near Downpatrick—Benignus his Coadjutor in Archdiocese of Armagh—St. Patrick converts Laeghaire, King of Ulster and Ardri or Over-King of Ireland.

The student of Irish history must be prepared to dismiss a vast amount of matter as purely mythical or legendary. This, no doubt, is true of the early history of most countries, but in the case of Ireland it is particularly so, and the task which presents itself, to all save the most ardent of readers, of separating—or endeavouring to separate—fact from fiction is a vexatious one. Even so charming a writer as Miss Lawless, after devoting pages to accounts of the first inhabitants of the island, such as the Fomorians, Firbolgs, and Tuatha-da-Danaans, calls them "historic shams".

There is nothing to be gained by the repetition of such statements as that of the Abbé McGeoghegan, that "It seems to be certain that Ireland continued uninhabited from the Creation to the Deluge", or from the introduction of legends which tell us of immigrations of Nemedians, of a niece of Noah,

and a near descendant of Japhet. Even when we arrive at a period of which history can take any cognizance, the evidence, save that of language, remains disconcertingly nebulous.

From the very slender evidence we possess, based chiefly on antiquarian research in connection with the etymology of local names, it appears that the earliest inhabitants of Ireland were of Turanian origin and known as Fomorians. How long they held possession it is impossible to discover, but they gave way before a Belgic race bearing the not very euphonious name of Firbolgs, who in their turn were conquered by a fresh tribe of invaders, the Tuatha-da-Danaans, said to have been of Pelasgic origin, but who are now believed to have been an Aryan Celtic race, a branch of that great stock which dominated Gaul and Spain and a large part of Southern Europe.

The Danaans are said to have held the country, which they completely conquered and occupied, for one hundred and ninety years. They are a shadowy race of whom even less is known than of their predecessors the Firbolgs, but their deeds are held to be less adumbrative than their names, for forts of earth and stone and sepulchral monuments on the River Boyne in Meath are said, with some show of truth, to be the work of their hands. But although they were strong men and great fighters the Danaans were themselves conquered by the Milesians or "Scoti", a race of warlike Celts from Spain, of which land they had been rulers for generations. This Milesian conquest seems to have been a real occurrence, notwithstanding the fact that the statements made by Keating with regard to it savour too much of romance and severely tax the credulity of his readers. For instance, we are told that the Milesians were Scythians, and that one of their leaders, Niall, married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, and befriended Moses and the Israelites. This friendliness to a persecuted race led Pharaoh to banish Niall and his followers, and after many wanderings they landed in Spain.

The Goths, their neighbours, proving hostile, they determined to seek a new country, and setting sail in thirty ships they landed in Ireland, and having defeated the Danaans gave the country their own name of Scotia, by which name it was known down to the end of the twelfth century.

It will be seen by the most casual reader that we have not yet reached the solid ground of facts, but there may be some substratum of truth in the story of the Milesian settlement, for many leading Irish chieftains claimed descent from the Milesians, and if lists of names are evidence we have it in the records of over a hundred kings of Ireland. The chroniclers of this period seem to have revelled in making collections of names and pedigrees, and if these contain but a modicum of truth, they at least bear testimony to the industry and zeal of the compilers, as well as to the wonderful wealth of materials from which they drew.

The chief source of our knowledge of the doings of the Milesians is a compilation known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*, collected in the seventeenth century from original documents which have long since disappeared. The compiler, Michael O'Clery, a Franciscan monk, while he gives us in this labour of love the names of noble and great personages, and records the doings of kings and chiefs, with dates and other testimony to his trustworthiness, gives us, alas! evidence also of his simple-mindedness and credulity. But nevertheless the *Annals* are accepted as the most trustworthy records of a time of which we possess little or no knowledge, and even the historian Leland, writing in 1770, accepts O'Clery's work and quotes largely from it. He even commits himself to the statement that Ireland has "engendered one hundred and seventy-one monarchs, all of the same house and lineage; with sixty-eight kings, and two queens of Great Britain and Ireland, all sprung equally from her loins". Leland, indeed, appears to entertain no doubt of the general truth of the statements made in the *Annals*, and accordingly

we learn from his pages that Heber and Heremon, sons of the famous Milesius, divided Ireland between them after their father's death, Heber taking the southern portion. We are told of how Ollamh Fodla, celebrated as a peacemaker and lover of learning, instituted a triennial assembly of chiefs, priests, and bards at Tara, in Meath; how Kimbaoth, King of Ulster, built a palace at Emania, near Armagh. The annalists praise Cimbalth, a lover and protector of learning and a man of peace, who was murdered, his death being attended by scenes of wholesale slaughter—surely a sad end for a man of peace! It is also recorded how Cormac Ulphada founded an academy for the study of war—no doubt also in the interests of peace. Of one Milesian prince, Thuathal, King of the North, we are told that he imposed a heavy tribute upon the south, which was paid for five hundred years.

This act was the result of an insult offered by the provincial King of Leinster, who "had married the daughter of Thuathal, but, conceiving a violent passion for her sister, pretended that his wife had died, and demanded and obtained her sister in marriage. The two ladies met in the royal house of Leinster. Astonishment and sorrow put an end to their lives!" The tribute known as the Boru tribute was imposed "as a perpetual memorial of the resentment of Thuathal and of the offence committed by the King of Leinster". This yearly payment consisted of 150 cows, 150 hogs, 150 pieces of cloth, 150 cauldrons, 150 couples of men and women in servitude, and 150 maidens, with the King of Leinster's daughter among them. This tribute caused an immense amount of sorrow and warfare to Ireland, as some of the Ardri demanded it, whilst others renounced it, and the redemand by their successors was so strongly resented that it kept the country in a continual state of turmoil. These internal dissensions were taken advantage of by Ireland's foes, and finally led to her overthrow and subjugation.

It is from the *Annals* also that we hear of Finn McCumhal, the great hero, known in Scotland as Fingal, or Fin, the Stranger. He has, not inappropriately, been called "the Irish King Arthur". Finn was, we are told, a son-in-law of King Cormac O'Conn, who reigned about the year 250. We are given an eloquent description of the king's famous militia, the Fenni or Fenians, of whom Finn was the general; the splendour of his Court, the bravery of his sons, and the beauty of his daughters. The deeds of Finn, it will be remembered, were celebrated by Ossian, a fact which gives credence to much of the matter recorded by the annalists.

We are now approaching the borderland of history, and turning our backs on the rich, dim, and debatable regions of romance. With Niall of the Nine Hostages, so called from pledges which he wrung from nine nations, Irish history may be said to commence. How truly delightful the ancient stories of Ireland—when not read as sober facts—can be made, is easily ascertained by a perusal of Joyce's *Celtic Romances*. The poetry and pathos of these tales is remarkable, and they prove the wit and power of imagination possessed by the people at a very early period in their history.

Niall, who ruled from A.D. 379 to 405, was the successor of Criffan the Great, whose reign from 366 to 379 is almost coincident with the command of the Roman general Theodosius in Great Britain. Niall followed up an invasion of Britain, made by Criffan, with a raid on the seaboard of Wales, and was with difficulty repelled by Stilicho, the valiant general who conquered Alaric and won the praise of the poet Claudian, who, in referring to this incident, and speaking in the person of Britannia, says: "By him was I protected when the Scot moved all Ireland against me, and the sea foamed beneath his hostile oars". It must be remembered that Ireland was still called Scotia, and therefore the "Scot" referred to by the poet was Niall. It is possible in connection with this raid to associate two great names,

for no less an authority than Gibbon considers it not improbable that, in one of Niall's expeditions into Britain, St. Patrick may have been captured and led into captivity. In his "Confession" St. Patrick himself declares: "I was brought captive into Ireland, with so many thousand men, according as we had deserved". Niall was assassinated in France by one of his own chiefs, who killed him with an arrow on the banks of the Loire.

What little direct knowledge we possess of St. Patrick is derived from a famous Irish manuscript known as *The Book of Armagh*, which contains amongst other things the Confession already quoted, and an Epistle, which some authorities believe was originally penned by St. Patrick himself and transcribed by some monkish scribe in the ninth century. *The Book of Armagh* also contains a life of St. Patrick, which is the principal source from which later biographers have drawn.

Authorities differ as to the time and place of St. Patrick's birth, some stating that he was born about A.D. 400 at Boulogne, of which town his father was a burgess of substance; but this cannot be correct if we are to believe that Niall died in A.D. 405, for in that case the saint would have been only an infant when captured. The dates and facts as given in Professor Bury's book on the subject are nearer the mark, and are now generally accepted. According to this biographer St. Patrick was born in 390 and died in 461. He was a native, not of Boulogne, but of Dumbarton, on the Clyde, from which he was carried a captive to Ireland, and became the slave of an inferior chieftain named Milcho, whose sheep he tended on the Slemish mountains in Antrim. After six years' captivity he escaped, and succeeded in getting to Britain, and thence to Gaul and Italy.

Ireland was at this time almost wholly pagan. True, Christianity had not been absolutely unheard of, for Palladius, a missionary, had attempted to conduct a mission with signal

unsuccess, and, being disheartened and in feeble health, he returned to Britain to die, "leaving to St. Patrick both the labour and the glory of converting the Irish".

The most interesting and comprehensive short account of the life of St. Patrick is that to be found in the chapter devoted to the subject in the Rev. Dr. D'Alton's *History of Ireland.* From this we learn that St. Patrick returned to Ireland in 432, and that his first endeavour was to convert his former master, Milcho, in which he was unsuccessful; but that with Dichu, an Ulster chief, he was more successful. "He and his household were baptized, and he also gave St. Patrick a site for his first church at Saul, near Downpatrick, where long afterwards the Apostle died." It is also interesting to note that not alone was his first convert an Ulster chief, but that in Benignus, a youth he met at Dundalk, St. Patrick found one "who became his most attached follower as well as coadjutor in the Archdiocese of Armagh". After excursions fruitful of good, into Meath and Connaught, St. Patrick returned to Ulster, visiting Antrim and Armagh, the latter of which became not alone the "Metropolitan City of the whole island", but also its "principal spiritual centre".

This was a period of extraordinary intellectual development in Ireland. St. Patrick's labours were manifold. He is said to have built 365 churches, consecrated an equal number of bishops, and ordained 3000 priests. Ireland became a guide in spiritual matters to the rest of the civilized world. We are assured, on the authority of the Venerable Bede, that thousands of students repaired to Ireland and "the Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, all gratis". It is not strange that, referring to this period in her history, Goldwin Smith declared that "Ireland played a really great part in European history", and John Richard Green, in his *Short History of the English People*, says: "The new religious houses looked

for their ecclesiastical traditions, not to Rome, but to Ireland, and quoted for their guidance the instructions not of Gregory, but of Columba. . . . For a time it seemed as if the course of the world's history was to be changed, as if that older Celtic race which the Roman and German had swept before them, had turned to the moral conquest of their conquerors, as if Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mould the destinies of the Church of the West."

Whatever of myth and legend may have been woven at a later period round the life of St. Patrick, there is no doubt of this awakening of a people to the life spiritual. Whole clans were baptized at a time. Bards and chiefs alike embraced the Christian faith, and among those who declared their adherence to the new creed was Laeghaire (son of Niall of the Nine Hostages), King of Ulster and Ardri or Over-King of Ireland.

CHAPTER II

Religion and Law in Early Ireland

The Kingdoms or Provinces of Ireland—The King of Ulster undisputed Over-King—The Country never a United Ireland—The O'Neills of the Royal Family of Ulster—St. Patrick's Predilection for Ulster—Mode of Government in Fifth Century—The Brehon Laws—Revised by St. Patrick at Request of the King of Ulster—The Book of Acaill—Lawless State of the Country.

Even before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, the island was divided into sections somewhat similar to those which form the four provinces at the present time. These kingdoms, as they were called in St. Patrick's day, each acknowledged a royal family of its own. For convenience' sake the present names of the provinces are used, but it is well to remember that the termination "ster" in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster is of Norse origin, and therefore could not be in use earlier than the ninth century. In the middle of the fifth century the royal family of Ulster were the O'Neills or Hy-Nials, who were also for nearly five hundred years the Over-Kings of Ireland, their supremacy being recognized by the provincial Kings of Leinster, the McMurroughs; of Connaught, the O'Conors; and of Munster, the O'Briens. In a rude age it is not strange that this over-kingship had occasionally to be enforced, and the position of *Ardri* maintained whenever disputed, as it was more than once by the kingdom of Munster. A fifth kingdom, Meath, is sometimes referred to; but it was really an appanage of the royal house of Ulster and consisted of Westmeath, Longford, and a portion of King's County. Munster was divided into two

districts, Desmond and Thomond, but they gradually ceased to be distinguished and Munster was regarded as a single province.

In order to make clear the position of affairs at this period, some account of the system of government of the country is necessary. This must not be taken as applying to the entire island in the aggregate; for, in the words of that most impartial historian and great authority, W. E. H. Lecky: "the Irish clans have never been fused into a single nation". And it may be added that Lord Dunraven, in his admirable study of Irish history *The Legacy of Past Years*, in writing on this subject, says that even at a much later period in her history Ireland had not emerged from the tribal state. "No man had arisen of sufficient strength to found and perpetuate a lasting dynasty, and weld the people into a nation acting under one head." Each of the four kingdoms referred to governed itself, with a king as its recognized ruler; but they never combined on any occasion, even to keep from the shores of Ireland a common enemy. This is sufficient reason why the country suffered from successive invasions. It also explains to a certain extent why the inhabitants of the several provinces are unlike in temperament and other characteristics. There are, of course, other reasons, which will be given later, but it can easily be seen when there are frequent internecine wars waged by those who are supposed to have a common origin and a common heritage, why the elements that go to make up a nation are lacking. Ulster to-day is a striking example of the fact that the various kingdoms in Ireland were never united. There never has been a United Ireland.

One of the causes which may have led to this strange contrast between a native of Munster or of Connaught and a native of Ulster, is the possibility (and we have good geological evidence for the surmise) that the land connection between Ireland and the south-west of Scotland continued

for some centuries later than the land connection between Ireland and England. The evidence in favour of this conjecture lies in the similarity of the geological formation of the coast line of Antrim and that of the adjacent coast line of Scotland, and the fact that the fauna of the two countries exhibit a striking resemblance, in strange contrast to the characteristics of the fauna of England. The north of Ireland, by means of a natural causeway existing between it and Scotland, would, in the remote time under consideration, be peopled by a hardy race whose descendants, even after the lapse of centuries, would possess the leading characteristics of their ancestors.

To carry this conjecture farther, may not these very characteristics, or traits of nationality, have been the chief factors which aroused the great interest in Ulster displayed by St. Patrick? He was, as nearly all authorities agree with Professor Bury in stating, born in Dumbarton. He repaired, as we have seen, first to Ulster. His first convert was an Ulster chief. His first church was built within the borders of Ulster, at Saul. He made Armagh the principal See of Ireland, and he spent the closing years of his life near Downpatrick, where he is buried. All this points to St. Patrick's finding characteristics in the people of Ulster which he did not discover in the people of the other provinces. This may be merely a flight of fancy, but no other reasonable explanation has ever been given for St. Patrick's striking predilection for Ulster.

Seeing, then, that a description of the mode of government in Ireland must be confined to a single "kingdom" at a time, and having devoted our attention to Ulster, it is interesting to note the leading part taken by that province in all great movements whether physical or intellectual. For over five hundred years the King of Ulster was Supreme King of Ireland, and that supremacy had to be maintained by force of arms. The over-king (or Ardri) till the close of the fifth

century resided at Tara, in the province of Meath. This province had been formed by cutting off a portion from each of the surrounding territories, so as to make a kind of personal estate for the head of the royal house of Ulster. It was composed, as already stated, of Westmeath, Longford, and a part of King's County, and was therefore about half the size of Ulster.

Under the Ardri the provincial kings held sway, having under them chiefs governing districts called *tuaths*, which each contained about 180 English square miles. It will be seen, therefore, that the clan system existed in Ireland as well as in Scotland; but the clans in Ireland were called "septs". These septs consisted of a number of families bearing the same name. The head of each family was in his own circle supreme, but he owed allegiance to the head of the sept. The head of the sept in his turn acknowledged the supremacy of the chief or sub-king of the territory, and paid him tribute. By having so many divisions and sub-divisions of territory much mischief was wrought in the country, but among all primitive peoples society was based on the tribal system. The chiefship of the sept was elective, his successor being chosen in his lifetime. This successor, called the "Tanist", was not necessarily his son, but some member of his family, and he was always elected as being the most serviceable member that could at the moment be found.

The law was administered by judges called Brehons. The Brehons were the general professional arbitrators in all disputes. They had absolutely in their hands the interpretation of the laws and the application of them to individual cases. Submission to their jurisdiction could not be compelled by the suitor, but in practice, owing to the weight of public opinion, it was never questioned. The Brehons had collections of laws in volumes. Of these volumes some have been preserved, notably the great Irish code, the *Senchus Mór*, which claims attention as exhibiting an

elaborate system of jurisprudence. This great code was compiled in the fifth century. Another important volume of laws is the *Book of Acaill or Ackill.* These books of law were translated by O'Donovan and O'Curry, and we learn from the introduction to the *Senchus Mór* the story of its compilation. From this it would appear that King Laeghaire, whom St. Patrick converted to Christianity, in his zeal for his new faith requested that a code of pagan laws compiled at the desire of the saint himself should be revised. Accordingly he appointed a committee of nine eminent and learned men, including himself and St. Patrick, to revise them, and exclude from them everything that clashed with the doctrines of Christianity. This was done, and a passage from the introduction to the work informs us: "How the judgment of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of the island down to the reception of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubhtach [the Chief Brehon or Poet of the time] to Patrick. What did not clash with the Word of God in the written law and in the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the law of the Brehons by Patrick, and by the ecclesiastics and the chieftains of Erin. For the law of nature had been quite right, except the faith and its obligations, and the harmony of the Church and the people."

The *Book of Acaill*, which is believed to have been put together in the third century, gives some idea of the criminal branch of the Brehon law. Every crime, from murder down to the smallest offence or accidental injury, could be compensated for by *erics*, or fines. These fines were payable by the forfeiture of so many cows; but as there was no force at the back of the Brehon who had delivered judgment, the fines sometimes remained unpaid. The remuneration of a Brehon in each case upon which he was called to decide was

by payment of dues consisting of fifteen cows and ten days' entertainment. If he delivered a false or unjust judgment he was branded on the cheek.

The Married Woman's Property Act was anticipated in Brehon law. Where the husband and the wife alike possessed property, the wife was called "the wife of equal dignity". She was recognized as in every respect her husband's equal; neither could contract without the other, nor could one of them jeopardize the property of the other.

The Brehon laws, while they form a huge collection of primitive customs, and have little in common with modern ideas on the subject of law and justice, contain not a little that is just and wise. Judge O'Connor Morris wrote of them that "They are full of conceits and extremely complex, never simple or striking in their ideas; they contrast strangely with the English Common Law", and he adds: "In one respect, however, the Brehon lawyers seem to have had just and enlightened conceptions; they systematically discouraged collective rights in land, and did much to encourage separate ownership, one of the first great steps in social advancement".

The well-known hospitality of the Irish people even at this early stage is proved by references in the Brehon code to the *Public Hospitaller*, an individual whose function it was to keep open house on the part of his sept, and receive distinguished personages passing through his district. With the view of enabling the hospitaller to worthily perform his duties he was allowed five hundred acres of land. He was thus rendered independent, and was not permitted to accept presents from persons who partook of his hospitality. The house he occupied belonged to the sept and was used for public meetings. The hospitaller had to keep a light burning throughout the night, in order to guide those who were in need of shelter to the protection afforded by its hospitable roof.

With regard to the tenure of land, it may be noted that the entire land belonged to the sept. Part was used for grazing purposes, and part was allotted in tracts, for the purpose of cultivation, to the various heads of households. It was less the actual land than the amount of grazing it afforded which constituted its value. As Miss Lawless points out: "Even to this day a man, especially in the West of Ireland, will tell you that he has 'the grass of three cows', or 'the grass of six cows', as the case may be".

Rent has always been a sore subject in Ireland, and it is therefore strange that Sir Henry Maine should have pointed out that the most distinct ancient rules concerning the excessive extortion of rent are to be found in the *Senchus Mór*. Three rents are enumerated, viz.: rack rent to be extorted from one of a strange sept; fair rent from one of the same tribe; and stipulated rent to be paid equally to either.

When a tenant died, his farm did not go to his children. A redistribution of the entire land held by the sept was made, and the land was divided or *gavelled* among the male adult members. This custom did much to prevent tenants making permanent improvements.

But it is comparatively easy to make laws. It is difficult to have those laws enforced. It must not be thought because an imposing code of laws was in existence that the people for whose benefit they were made were law-abiding. Far from it. It was a wild stormy time, when fighting was the aim and object of existence. The only rule of life was that given in the couplet:

> He may take who has the power,
> And he may keep who can.

It was a time given over to never-ending raiding, burning, plundering, and fighting, a time in which even women went to the wars and fought beside their husbands with

reckless courage, slaying or being slain with astonishing indifference to fate.

Courage, indeed, was needed in woman as well as in man, for dangers lurked on every side, not alone in the shape of human enemies, but in the fact that the woods had not yet been cleared, nor the wolf as yet exterminated.

CHAPTER III

The Mission of St. Columba

St. Columba a Member of the Royal House of Ulster—He founds a Church in Derry—Responsible for the Battle of Cuildrevne, "The Battle of the Books"—Repairs to Iona—The Conversion of Northumbria—St. Columba returns to Ireland—Attends the Convention of Drum Ketta in Derry—The Boru Tribute—The Battle of Moyrath (Moira)—The Coming of the Danes.

About fifty years after the death of St. Patrick there arose almost as remarkable a spiritual leader in the person of St. Columba, whose influence outside his native land was even greater than that of his predecessor, and who may with truth be regarded as the founder of what was for centuries the centre of Christianity in the West.

St. Columba was born at Garten, in Donegal, in 521, and was a member of the royal house of Ulster—the Hy-Nials. His portrait has been admirably limned by Adamnan, who indeed gives us the man in his habit as he lived. After the lapse of centuries this vivid portrait has lost none of its charm. We recognize the complete and genuine humanity of the man, despite the ultra-miraculous nature with which his biographer seeks to endow him. The chief characteristic of St. Columba was his whole-hearted and genuine love for his native land. Ireland seems to have been, despite his calling, the chief object of his love, and his sorrow at leaving her his most poignant affliction.

In 545, we are told, he founded the monastery and church at Derry, a place in which he seems to have centred his affections, for frequent are his references to the beloved "Oaks of Derry".

But though St. Columba had a tender heart, he had a fiery temper, and that fiery Celtic temper, it has been held, led to his being largely responsible for the battle of Cuildrevne in 561. Strange as this may appear, the evidence in its favour is so strong that, although Adamnan tries to make light of it, it cannot be ignored; otherwise St. Columba's exile from a land he loved cannot be explained. The banishment of the saint to Iona cannot possibly have been voluntary, but must have been undertaken as a penance and token of penitence for the share he had taken in the unpriestlike work of bloodshed.

The story of the battle of Cuildrevne may be told in a few words, and shows how even saints may occasionally lose their tempers. St. Finian of Moville possessed a rare copy of the Psalter. St. Columba, without the knowledge or permission of the owner, secured the book and transcribed it. St. Finian, having discovered this, demanded the copy, which St. Columba refused to surrender. The matter was referred to the Ardri. He decided against St. Columba, who refused to abide by the judgment, and, rousing all his relatives and friends to side with him, thus brought about the first recorded "Battle of the Books".

Two years after this sanguinary encounter St. Columba left Ireland with twelve companions, and landed in Iona, where he became the cynosure of all the eyes in Christendom. Here he lived and laboured, and here he died in 597, and with his death there passed away one of the most important men of his time, and certainly the first Irishman of his day.

It must be remembered that Britain, which during the lifetime of St. Patrick had been on the whole Roman and Christian, had, under the iron rule of its Saxon conquerors, relapsed into paganism, and therefore Ireland had slowly become, by this process, more and more isolated from Christendom. She was a spark of Christianity surrounded by a

mass of paganism, a disk of light in a circle of gloom. As such she became a beacon to all enthusiasts of the Faith, with the result that, through the Irish colony at Iona, Ireland was largely responsible for the conversion of the North of England. How this came about may be briefly told. Oswald, King of Northumbria, had in his early days taken refuge in Iona, and when called upon to reign he at once summoned the Irish missionaries, and, acting himself as their interpreter, so impressed his subjects that great numbers of them were converted. Thus, with Oswald's warfare against heathenism in the North and St. Augustine's great and indefatigable labours in the South, England once more became Christian. But in the very enthusiasm of the adherents and propagators of the Faith lay the seeds of schism. Disputes arose on various subjects connected with the Church, and many wordy warfares ensued. Unimportant as these may appear, they were the source of trouble at the time, and eventually did much to shape the destiny of Ireland.

In her isolated position, separated from the continent of Europe, and surrounded by the waves and tempests of the Atlantic, Ireland existed, as it were, "alike unknowing and unknown". Her children, unlike those of the sister isle, have never been great lovers of the sea, and therefore never ventured afar, consequently she was unknown. Cæsar scarcely mentioned her; Agricola superciliously remarked that she might be worth conquering, but thought, in his ignorance, the conquest could be gained with a single legion. All the known world had fallen before the Romans, but Ireland was left severely alone. Is it to be wondered at, under these circumstances, that as time progressed, and the world changed from paganism to Christianity, and Ireland with it, she should, while embracing the new Faith herself, be little affected by the triumphs of that Faith on the far-away Continent, and be regardless of the temporal or spiritual power of Rome.

In this she stood somewhat apart amongst the peoples of Europe. True, St. Patrick had ruled that all disputes in the Church which could not be settled at home should be sent to Rome for decision; but this canon had been overlooked, so dim and distant did Rome appear to be. Ireland was soon to learn how far-reaching was the power of the Holy See.

Rome—being a centre of learning and in touch with other centres of learning—discovered that in computing Easter the Jewish cycle was incorrect, and forthwith she substituted a more correct cycle. Of this important alteration the Irish were unaware, and when their attention was drawn to the matter by Rome, some of the churches determined to adhere to the Jewish cycle, which had been introduced by St. Patrick, while others were in favour of adopting the new cycle. The controversy raged for over a century, and was finally settled by submission to Rome. This submission of the Church of Ireland to the powers at Rome, which claimed a right of disposition over "the isles of the sea", became the first link in the chain of events which led to Pope Adrian's issuing the famous bull "Laudabiliter", by which he gave Henry II of England permission to enter Ireland "and execute whatsoever may tend to the honour of God and the welfare of the land".

But if Ireland was thus delivered over to British rule (a rule which, whatever it may be to-day, was for centuries a rule of greed and plunder, of butchery and ruthlessness) by her love of a Church which has held the world in awe, she owes much to that Church for physical well-being and intellectual and spiritual advancement. "The Irish", said Sir James Mackintosh, "are enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any European nation possesses it in its spoken language." That they are able to pride themselves on the antiquity of their annals is due to the influence of the Church missionaries, who everywhere were the pioneers of the new learning as

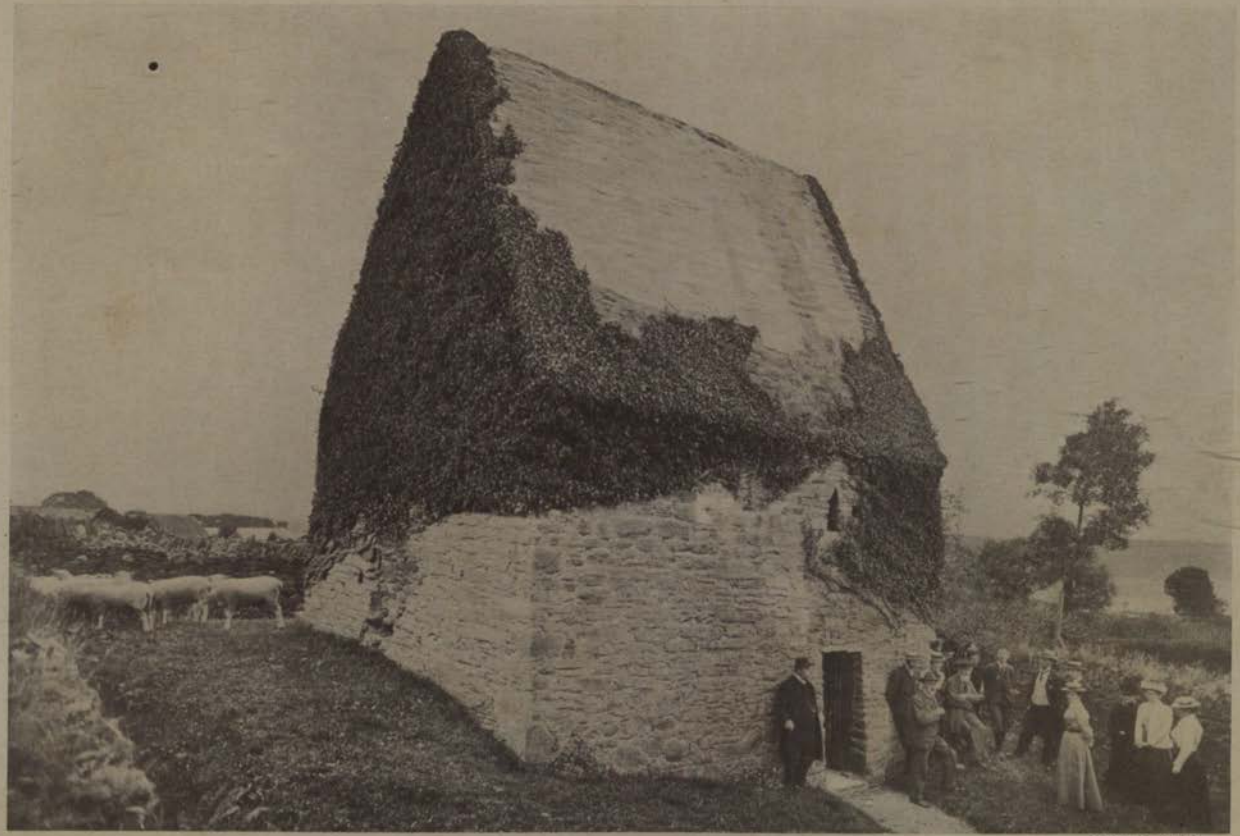


Photo. R. Welch

ST. COLUMBA'S HOUSE, KELLS

of the new Faith, and the preservers of such chronicles as existed at their coming. But not alone did the monks encourage literature: they were carvers, gilders, painters, architects, and bookbinders, as well as illuminators and lovers of letters. While a turbulent torrent of war roared round the walls of their monasteries they calmly proceeded with their work, producing vessels of gold and vessels of silver, carven work of exquisite beauty, chalices, croziers, and crosses, and illuminated manuscripts with marvellously intricate and dexterously drawn designs.

But learning was not confined to the monasteries; there were lay teachers who had themselves been taught by the monks, and these men went up and down through the land instructing the people, and thus playing a very important part in the diffusion of knowledge. Every large monastery had a school attached, and in these schools secular as well as ecclesiastical learning was carefully attended to. There is ample evidence that Latin and Greek were carefully studied and successfully acquired.

The reputation of Ireland as an intellectual centre spread far and wide, and attracted scholars and would-be scholars from all parts of the Continent. From Britain they came, as Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, expressed it in a letter to one who had himself been educated in Ireland, in "fleet loads".

But, alas! Ireland was to experience but a brief period of peace from within or from without. While she could she enjoyed this period of steady moral and intellectual growth, and availed herself to a very remarkable extent of all the benefits it afforded her. But even as she dreamt of a golden age of light and letters, of peace and plenty, she was suddenly torn asunder with internal dissensions and threatened with foreign invasion.

St. Columba, as we have seen, was in his sanctuary at Iona, and to him came his neighbour, Aidan, King of the

Dalriadans, a Caledonian colony, to complain that the Ardri, the King of Ulster, named Aedh, demanded tribute of him. Aidan had befriended St. Columba on many occasions, and St. Columba had anointed Aidan as king. To settle this dispute St. Columba crossed to Ulster with King Aidan in order to attend the Convention of Drum Ketta. This was held in A.D. 587 in a small town in County Derry. It is said that this was the most numerously attended and representative gathering that had been held for many years. St. Columba addressed the huge gathering, and finally he won the day.

This was not, however, the only matter which had to be considered. The Ardri insisted on the payment of the Boru tribute, which, it will be remembered, was first imposed by Thuathal. The Leinster king resisted this demand, and finally a battle was fought in which the Ardri was slain.

The next internal upheaval occurred in the reign of King Domhnall. A grandson of the Ardri just mentioned, he became Ardri in 627. It is recorded that as a child he was carried to the Convention of Drum Ketta in order that St. Columba might bless him. The saint did so, and prophesied that, unlike the majority of Irish kings, Domhnall would die in his bed. Domhnall, when he became Ardri, proceeded to do the best he could to test the truth of this prophecy. He made war on an Ulster prince named Congal. Congal had slain a previous Ardri, and Domhnall sought to punish him. He defeated Congal and drove him out of his Ulster possessions into exile. After an absence of some ten years in Britain, Congal returned at the head of a large army. Domhnall now sorrowfully said he did not wish to fight Congal. He suddenly remembered that he was his foster-father, and that he loved him! Why then did he some years before drive him from Ulster? But notwithstanding the sentiments expressed by the Ardri he collected men in the other provinces and proceeded to prove his love for

Congal by opposing him in a fierce battle fought at Moyrath (Moira) in Down. Congal fought with great bravery, and the story of his encounter in single fight with a warrior named Conall is recorded in a Bardic tale, *The Battle of Moyrath*, in which Congal and his opponent are compared to Hercules and Antæus. Congal, however, was mortal, and he was slain and his army annihilated, and Domhnall died in bed as predicted.

Ulster suffered both from within and without. Northern pirates landed in 824 and sacked Bangor, and laid waste the whole district, plundering and burning town after town as they careered wildly on their way, devastating the country like a cloud of locusts. Maghera, Moville, and Armagh, to mention but a few of the principal objects of their attacks, were pillaged.

Nine years later the renegade Bishop-King of Cashel, who aspired to be Ardri, plundered Clonmacnoise, and "butchered the monks like sheep", and so terrified the Primate of Armagh that he paid homage to the cut-throat.

Such were the internal dissensions which disturbed a sorrowful land; but these "old unhappy far-off things" fade into insignificance when compared with the dangers which menaced Erin from without. Hitherto she had escaped the Scandinavian scourge which for four hundred years had swept over Britain. But she had suffered in common with Britain and Gaul from incursions of vikings, and had hitherto warded off their attacks. Their black ships, with crews of Picts, Danes, and Norsemen, now came sweeping over the waves in such numbers that they menaced her very existence. These Danes were "merciless, sour, and hardie". Here, if ever there was one, was a chance for a united Ireland! Alas, that dream has never been realized! The vikings found an easy prey, and visiting various portions of the coast line they, in their light ships, sped up the rivers, and landing unexpectedly, struck terror into the hearts of the Irish by the very suddenness and fierceness of their attacks.

Led by a chief whose name is variously given as Thorkels, Turges, and Thorgist, sixty of their ships entered the Liffey and sixty more the Boyne. Here they landed and burned and plundered, ravished and massacred the natives. They spent much of their fury on the churches. Turges killed all the priests and monks he could lay his hands on. He burned the Cathedral of Armagh, and set his wife on the High Altar at Clonmacnoise to utter incantations. He also exacted a tribute called "nose money", so called from the name of the organ which he removed if the money was not paid. In the end he carried his cruelty so far that in despair the natives arose on their oppressors, of whom a general massacre took place, and Turges was seized and slain. But this was only a temporary reaction. More Danes appeared—Amlaff, Sitric, and Imar—and with countless ships, filled with their fierce followers, they enslaved the island. The Irish, still divided amongst themselves, were easily broken. The Danes built and fortified towns along the coast, and into these citadels they gathered the spoil of the whole land. Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Wexford, and Dublin all owe their origin in the first instance to the vikings. The history of the next three hundred years is one of war and all the horrors of war.

CHAPTER IV

The Scandinavian Scourge

The Northern Pirates—Internal Dissensions—A New Leader, Malachy II—Brian Boru—His Treachery to Malachy—Becomes Ardri—The Boru Tribute enforced—Fatal Results—Rise of the Danes—Battle of Clontarf—Death of Brian—Restoration and Death of Malachy.

The enemies of Ireland at this period appear to have been innumerable. No sooner did one race of fierce and roving sons of plunder come in by force and possess the land than they were followed by another. No sooner did the Danes occupy the island and settle down more or less amicably with the natives than another foe appeared in the shape of Scandinavians, who desired to oust those in possession and slay all before them!

It must not, however, be thought that the conquerors had it all their own way or that the Irish calmly submitted. The Irish never submitted. They fought many a battle, and in some cases came off victorious. The Danes were defeated in more than one battle in the south, and were worsted by Malachy the Ardri on several occasions.

Had the Irish presented a united front the whole course of events might have been changed, but, as we have seen, the Bishop-King of Cashel was plundering Ulster at the same time that the Norsemen were plundering the South of Ireland. Nor were the Irish the only people to quarrel amongst themselves, for a desperate naval engagement between Norsemen and Danes took place (in A.D. 853) in Carlingford Lough, on

which occasion the Danes were defeated, and the conquerors repaired to Dublin and established a kingdom where previously there had been but a fortress. Thus the capital of Ireland was founded by Norsemen, and, as Miss Lawless points out, it "can never be said, save for very short periods, to have belonged to the Irish at all. It was first the capital of their northern invaders and afterwards that, of course, of the English Government".

From their stronghold in Dublin the Norsemen sallied forth, as was their wont, marauding as they went. Their career, however, was checked on many occasions, notably when they suffered serious defeats at Lough Foyle in 867, and at Drogheda two years later. The history of this period ought to be written in blood, so great was the slaughter. Battle succeeds battle until the reader becomes wearied by the chronicle of sanguinary encounters and descriptions of the manifold miseries which followed them. Macliagh, the historian of these sorrowful years, in his *Wars of the Gael and Gaul*, describes how the Danes "killed the kings and the chieftains, the heirs to the crown, and the royal princes of Erin. They killed the brave and the valiant and the stout knights, champions and soldiers, and young lords, and the greater part of the heroes and warriors of the entire Gael; and they brought them under tribute and servitude; they reduced them to bondage and slavery. Many were the beautiful women and comely maidens. . . . they carried into bondage over the broad green sea."

In the almost impenetrable gloom of those dark times occasionally a ray of light is seen, some heroic figure is seen to stride across the scene of action and then to disappear into the darkness again. Such a figure is that of the warrior Muirchertach, an Ulster prince (son of Niall Glundubh) who fought the Danes for over twenty years, defeating them time after time, but being at last himself defeated and slain at the battle of Ardee in A.D. 943. Such another heroic figure, but

one more substantial, is Malachy II, whose name has been rendered familiar by the genius of Moore in his melody, "Let Erin Remember".

Malachy was head of the O'Neills, and became Ardri in 980. His first act as over-king was to march against Olaf the White, the Norse King of Dublin. The opposing forces met at Tara, where Olaf was defeated, and his son, Regnall, killed. Malachy then marched on Dublin and forced the city to capitulate. He found within its walls nearly two thousand captives (including the King of Leinster), whom he released from "durance vile as hell". With singular magnanimity he allowed the Danes to remain, but he compelled them to pay tribute. The thirteen years following were spent in establishing his authority, suppressing revolts, and in fighting his enemies, who, alas! numbered amongst them the celebrated Irish King Brian Boru, a chief of the royal Dalcassian race of O'Brien. Malachy defeated Brian on more than one occasion; but later they both recognized a common enemy in the Danes of Dublin, and the King of Leinster, who had joined them; whereupon they ceased hostilities, and, it is said, fought side by side.

Malachy, notwithstanding his successes, was not ambitious. "He loved", say the annalists, "to ride a horse that had never been handled or ridden," but for affairs of State he had no heart. Brian, on the other hand, having risen from being merely chief of the Dalcassians to being the undisputed King of Munster, aspired not alone to be Ardri, but to become King of all Ireland! Not content, therefore, with the friendship of Malachy and his own position, he intrigued with the Danes and the King of Leinster, whom he had lately defeated, and, forming alliances with them, he, despite his good understanding with Malachy, gathered together his forces and occupied Tara. Malachy, yielding to circumstances, resigned the position of Ardri, which had been held by the O'Neills for nearly six hundred years, and

Brian became over-king, and was universally acknowledged as such.

With the passing of the sceptre from Ulster the history of that kingdom or province loses to a certain extent the intense interest it possessed while the O'Neills ruled, much in the same way as the history of England loses in the reign of Henry V by the scene of action being removed from her shores to those of France. But what affected any part of Ireland naturally had its influence on Ulster, and great events which form part of the national history are not outside the history of Ulster; consequently it is the bounden duty of the historian of Ulster at this juncture to follow the fortunes of Brian rather than those of Malachy.

All Ulster did not submit when Malachy gave in. Two northern princes held out and obliged Brian to come to a truce with them, which it was agreed was to last twelve months. Before that time had expired the two princes had fallen in battle, and when Brian came north he succeeded in getting hostages from Ulster, and laid an offering on the altar of the church at Armagh, whether in recognition of peace or ingratitude it is impossible to say! He then made a circuit of the entire country, and went through the several counties of Ulster to assure himself of their recognition of him as Ardri.

Brian was now an old man. He was war-worn and longed for peace. For some ten years he was able to enjoy it, and for ten years the country enjoyed peace and the arts of peace. Roads and bridges were repaired, harbours were constructed, new churches were built, and some strong fortresses were erected to provide those who acted as preservers of peace with the means to do so. The Danes, on account of their connection with the Continent, were in a position to enrich themselves and the country, and they availed themselves of it, and became as good exponents of the victories of peace as they had been of the victories of war. They and the Irish

chieftains regularly paid their tribute to the Ardri, and Brian almost realized his ambition of becoming sole King of Ireland. But it was not to be. Brian, true to his name, in a fatal hour revived the hated Boru tribute which had been a curse to the country for centuries. All Leinster resented this, and rose in revolt. The Danes joined them. Flaherty O'Neill of Tirowen, as an Ulster prince, seized the opportunity to flout Brian, and, with the view of becoming Ardri himself, joined forces with O'Rorke of Brefni, and they flung their combined strength on the ex-Ardri, Malachy, but were defeated.

The dogs of war were once more let loose upon the unhappy land. Brian, although well stricken in years, was wonderfully energetic. Aided by his sons, he sent forth a summons to the field, and it was answered in such a manner as left him commander of a force of nearly 10,000 men.

Meanwhile his enemies had not been idle. Aid in the coming conflict had been sought for from far and near, even the Orkneys, Norway, and Denmark being implored by the Danes in Ireland to help them in the coming struggle, and an enormous force was sent. These, supplemented by the Danes of Dublin and the men of Leinster, made a formidable array when, on Palm Sunday, 1014, they assembled in Dublin or filled the beautiful bay with their ships.

All the forces ranged against Brian consisted of fierce men of war, vikings, and pirates; whereas of his own army many were not trained to war. Luckily the Irish had taken a lesson from their past sufferings, and had learned to swing the battle-axe in the Danish manner, and thus were better equipped than their forefathers to meet their foes.

Brian marched to meet the enemy, and, as a preliminary, plundered the Danish districts through which he passed. With Brian were his sons, and Malachy, the ex-Ardri, fought under his banner at the head of the men of Meath.

The opposing forces met on the low foreshore at Clontarf,

on the north side of the River Liffey, and at dawn on Good Friday, 23rd April, the battle began. The preliminaries were, as usual, a challenge from one camp to the other for single combat. The champions met, and both were slain; and then began a slaughter grim and great, extending, it is said, for two miles along the shore.

"All day long the tide of battle rolled," and it was not until sunset that either side wavered, and then the Danes gave way. Malachy dealt the final blow. Magnanimous as he had proved himself to be on more than one occasion, that admirable quality forsook the noble prince when he saw how the day was going. Brian had deposed him; why should he aid Brian? Such, no doubt, was his reflection as he and his troops remained sullen spectators of the fray. But when at the close of the day the Danes were retreating in disorder, he could no longer refrain. He cut off their retreat and slaughtered them in great numbers.

Malachy's action did not decide the battle. That had already been decided. Brian, though not on the field, was the victor, and the Danes were utterly defeated. But for Brian, the victory was dearly bought, for in the fight he lost Morrogh, the son on whom all his hopes had been set. The aged Ardri was in his tent when the news of his son's death was brought to him. He declared he did not wish to live. A little later a flying Dane rushed into the unprotected tent, and with his battle-axe clove in the king's head.

Thus perished the only Ardri who could in any sense be considered King of Ireland. This, however, he never was. His rule did not extend beyond the borders of his own kingdom. He could call, and did call, on tributary kings to aid him in war-time or in any sudden emergency; but he had no jurisdiction in their kingdoms, a fact which he was obliged to recognize in return for their fealty. When the news of his death reached Armagh, the bishop and his clergy came south as far as Swords, and there received the body of the dead

king, which they carried back to Armagh and placed in a new tomb. So the ancient enemy of Ulster reposes within her borders.

Clontarf was one of the decisive battles of the world. Had the victory fallen to the Danes, the consequences would have been such as to roll back the tide of civilization for centuries. Ireland had lain under the heel of her heathen oppressors for nearly two hundred years. During those long and weary years the native Irish had suffered every wrong and every ignominy that "man's inhumanity to man" can devise. As it turned out, the power of the Dane and the Norseman was broken, and Ireland freed from the shackles of an intolerable tyranny.

But though Ireland might congratulate herself on having thrown off a foreign yoke, she was not sure of her own sons. As soon as the strong hand of Brian lost its hold over the land, all the old internal dissensions broke out afresh. Princes of every rank claimed the title of Ardri, and the matter was only settled by Malachy's restoration to the throne of the over-kings. This, however, was not done until twelve months had been spent in discord and fighting.

Malachy was now very old, but he reigned for eight years longer, with remarkable vigour, joining Flaherty O'Neill, and with his aid crushing the Dublin Danes in 1015. Two years later he entered Leinster, to again defeat them. He died in 1022. Of him it was well said in the native rhyme:

> After Malachy, son of Donald,
> Each man ruled his own tribe
> But no man ruled Erin.

After his death the Dalcassian house came again to the front. Then Domhnall O'Loughlin, of the royal house of Niall, was for two years Ardri. He died in A.D. 1121.

Then followed an interval in which there was no Ardri, and war was so widespread that "Ireland was a trembling

sod". These petty wars would require volumes to themselves. They resemble nothing so much as tables of endless genealogies, and make most wearisome reading. Suffice it then to say, so far as Ulster is concerned, that Murtough O'Loughlin or O'Neill became Ardri in A.D. 1156, and on his death Roderick O'Conor succeeded him. He was the last king of independent Ireland.

CHAPTER V

Change and Decay

Retrogression of the Irish after the Battle of Clontarf—Lack of Patriotism —Wars of Septs — Dermot McMurrough — Murtagh O'Loughlin — Battle of Ardee—Eochy MacDunlevy, King of Ulster—Roderick O'Conor and Tiernan O'Rourke—Defeat of Dermot—Death of Murtagh O'Loughlin.

We now come to a period where again the history of Ulster is the history of Ireland, where great events of national importance occur outside the province, nay, even outside the country itself.

The story of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland has often been told, and we shall not therefore dwell upon it unduly, but a recapitulation of the facts is necessary for the thorough understanding of subsequent events.

Between the date of the battle of Clontarf (1014) and the date at which we have arrived (1167) over a hundred and fifty years have passed. During that century and a half what progress can Ireland be said to have made? None! It is a lamentable fact that during that long period of time the only signs of activity displayed by the Irish were those of animosity to each other, the only movements that can be recorded are retrograde. The history of the hundred and fifty years makes even the most patriotic of Irishmen almost wish that the battle of Clontarf had been lost, and the Danes been given the ascendancy; for had the Danes won the victory, Ireland might have had a settled government, such as the Danish conquest secured for England. But the tribal character of the country prevented any cohesion amongst the

people. The members of one "sept" were ever ready to take advantage of the misfortunes of those of another, and did not hesitate to invoke the aid of "strangers" to secure their own ends. Instances of both these characteristics could be given *ad nauseam*. Let two suffice. The battle of Clontarf being fought and won, and the dead duly buried, Donough, son of Brian, prepared to march homewards with his weary, wounded troops. Immediately on seeing his plight, two of the leaders of the men of Desmond, noting that but few members of another sept, the Dal Cais, survived, determined to take advantage of the fact, and they demanded hostages from Donough. On his refusing to give them hostages they had recourse to arms. But the Dal Cais showed such a bold front, the disabled even stuffing their wounds with moss in order to stand and face their enemies, that the men of Desmond were cowed, and desisted, and, the leaders falling out amongst themselves, the conspiracy came to naught.

If there had been the slightest vestige of even a rudimentary idea of national spirit, surely such a state of things could not have been possible! Of course it is impossible for modern man fully to comprehend the various causes which led to such a course of conduct. When it was usual—or at any rate not unusual—for brother to blind brother, uncle to blind nephew, and even father to blind son, in order to incapacitate a possible rival, there surely must have been some disease in the intellect of man and some strange malady deep-seated in his heart, which later generations have been unable to diagnose. The tribal system limited the vision and confined the emotions to a narrow circle. No man in Ireland in those far-off times saw farther than the confines of his own borders; patriotism meant merely the aggrandizement of his own sept.

The other notable instance of public injuries being inflicted to secure private ends is the action of Dermot McMurrough in inviting the Normans to invade Ireland in order to

be avenged on Roderick O'Conor. Briefly, the story is as follows.

Dermot McMurrough was born 1110. His father, Donough McMurrough, was King of Southern Leinster, and was slain in 1115, in the battle of Dublin, by Donnell, son of Murtagh O'Brien. Donagh was succeeded by his son Enna, and when Enna died, in 1126, Dermot, who was but a youth of sixteen, became king. As such he gave hostages to Turlogh O'Conor, the Ardri, but a couple of years later he renounced his allegiance to the King of Connaught. O'Conor was during his time one of the most powerful monarchs in Ireland. He had set his heart on being acknowledged sole King of Ireland, and he adopted the arbitrary method of breaking up the provinces by waging war against them in turn, conquering them and then dividing and subdividing them, putting in creatures of his own as rulers to succeed the ones he deposed or killed. In this way he divided Meath and partitioned Munster. His greed was insatiable. Gradually he changed the whole face of the country. Dermot, who was still a youth, was very ill-advised to incense a man of his immense and far-reaching powers. The result of Turlogh's being provoked was that Leinster was devastated by him, and Dermot deposed in favour of Turlogh's son Conor. No doubt Dermot saw the error he had made, for a little later (1152) we find him in alliance with Turlogh, and re-established as King of Leinster.

A northern prince now appeared upon the scene. Murtough, son of Niall O'Loughlin, revived the claim of the North to sovereignty. He carried his argument by the force of arms, and after a series of campaigns which lasted from 1147 to 1149 Dermot McMurrough amongst others submitted. Murtough O'Louglin's power grew so rapidly that in 1152 we find him swearing friendship with Turlogh O'Conor and Dermot McMurrough. This alliance might have proved a great factor for the peace of Ireland had not a new division of Meath been made on Turlogh O'Conor's usual plan. But

this division, by which the western half of the province was restored to Murrough O'Melaghlin, while his son was put over the eastern portion, did not find favour with Tiernan O'Rourke, who had benefited by previous partitions. Accordingly he rebelled against the arrangement, was defeated and deposed, and his castle, near what is now known as Dungan, was burned. Tiernan O'Rourke was "a first-class fighting man". He was always at war with the neighbouring chiefs, and he apparently seized every opportunity to take part in the quarrels of others. He seems to have been of a very bellicose nature, for, although he married Devorgil, a daughter of Murrough O'Melaghlin, he was always fighting with the O'Melaghlins and taking advantage of them whenever the opportunity offered.

In more than one of Turlogh O'Conor's hostile attacks on Leinster he was aided by Tiernan O'Rourke. As early as 1128 we frequently find them both "foray-hosting" into Okinselagh, the hereditary principality of McMurrough. Under these circumstances it is not strange that Dermot, when his old enemy O'Rourke was at his mercy, should have seized the opportunity to humiliate him in every way possible, and in addition to other acts of violence that he should carry off O'Rourke's wife, with her cattle, furniture, and other belongings. This we know was done, not alone with Devorgil's acquiescence, but with the active co-operation of her brother O'Melaghlin, who urged Dermot to this act of hostility, "for some abuses of her husband, Tiernan, done to her before".

A good deal of romance has been woven about this incident, and Devorgil has, on account of Dermot's subsequent conduct, been execrated as the woman who brought ruin on Ireland. But recent research has proved that the heroine of the story was at the time at least forty-four years of age, and that her admirer was but two years her junior. With a hero and heroine of these ripe years the finest romance falls flat, and therefore it is not surprising to find

that within a year Devorgil fled from Dermot back to her husband, who evidently welcomed her return, for we hear of her four years later as benefactress of a church at Millifont, near Drogheda, O'Rourke being present at the ceremony, when she laid "three score ounces of gold, and a chalice of gold on the altar of Mary".

About this time (1156) Turlough O'Conor died, and Dermot, ever on the alert to be if possible on the winning side, threw in his lot with Murtough O'Loughlin, who was now undoubtedly the most powerful king in Ireland. A dispute had been for some time going on between O'Loughlin and Roderick O'Conor about the rulership of Meath, and O'Rourke naturally joined O'Conor in order to oppose Dermot; but O'Loughlin almost annihilated their combined forces at the battle of Ardee, in 1159, and followed up his victory so effectively that two years later O'Conor gave him hostages. Murtagh O'Loughlin thus became to all intents and purposes King of all Ireland. For some years this prince of the North maintained his supremacy, and during his sway he supported Dermot in the possession of Leinster. But in 1165 trouble again arose, and this time within the province of Ulster. The counties of Antrim and Down were united in one territory called Ulidia (later known as Ulster) of which the King was Eochy MacDunlevy, a restless being, who, unsatisfied with O'Loughlin's rule, every now and then rebelled against him and was as promptly suppressed. On this occasion, weary of the unrest displayed by the Ulidians, O'Loughlin took drastic measures: he entered Ulidia with a large army, and, having slain the majority of the more formidable of MacDunlevy's supporters, he expelled him. O'Loughlin does not appear to have been as ruthless as many of his contemporaries, for later in the same year, at the intercession of the Prince of Uriel (a territory which comprised Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan), Eochy was restored to his kingdom on giving as hostages a son of

every chieftain in his territory and his own daughter to O'Loughlin. In what way Eochy again transgressed, the annals of Ulster are silent, but it is recorded that in the very next year Eochy was blinded and some of the chiefs of Ulidia were put to death by O'Loughlin "in despite of the protection of the successor of Patrick and of the staff of Jesus, and of Donough O'Carroll, King of Uriel". This high-handed as well as treacherous proceeding at once alienated Uriel as well as Ulidia, and gave Roderick O'Conor and Tiernan O'Rourke the opportunity for which they had waited for some years.

O'Conor lost no time, and, accompanied by O'Rourke, repaired to Dublin, where the Ostmen or foreigners submitted to him, and where he was duly elected king "as honourably as any King of the Gael was ever inaugurated". His next step was to win the recognition of Meath and of Uriel, from the kings of which he received hostages. He then marched on Leinster, where the sub-kings, who hated Dermot, at once submitted to him.

McMurrough, who must have "felt like the trapped beast does when he hears the trapper coming through the woods", made a frantic effort to stop O'Conor's progress at a point called Fid Dorcha (the dark wood) but failed. He then set fire to his own palace at Ferns, so that it should not fall into the hands of his enemy, and finally he appears to have pacified O'Conor by giving him four hostages. With this O'Conor appears to have been satisfied, for he returned to Connaught, leaving Dermot in possession of his hereditary principality of Okinselagh, but in no way recognizing his kingship of Leinster. In the meantime it had fared badly with Murtough O'Loughlin. For the violation of his oath to King Eochy he had been visited by the heavy displeasure of the Church, which of recent years had grown in power and had lately excommunicated Donough O'Melaghlin, King of Meath, going even to the length of

banishing him for a period. The ban of the Church had its effect in the defection of O'Loughlin's own subjects—the Cinel Owen—who invited the King of Uriel to cross the border, which he did, accompanied by the obsequious and ubiquitous Tiernan O'Rourke. O'Loughlin, forsaken by his followers and unsupported by Dermot, was at the mercy of the intruders into his realms, and he perished at the hands of his enemies near Armagh in 1166. As the annalists have it: "A great marvel and wonderful deed was then done; to wit, the King of Ireland to fall without battle, without contest, after his dishonouring the successor of Patrick, and the staff of Jesus, and the successor of Colum-cille, and the gospel of Martin, and many clergy besides".

Thus fell a prince of the royal house of Hy-Nial, one whom the annalists expressly styled "the King of Ireland". There is little doubt that he fell through the power of the Church, exercised on account of the gross violation of his solemn oath in putting to death men who were under "the protection of the successor of Patrick". No doubt the Church was right in thus exercising its authority and endeavouring to do all in its power to become "a stream or tendency making for righteousness" in the dealings of man with his fellow-men, dealings in which but little probity was exercised save under compulsion. But the Church appears to have nursed her hostility to O'Loughlin even after his death, for we are told "his body was carried to Armagh and buried there, in spite of the co-arb of Colum-cille with his community".

With Murtagh O'Loughlin there passed away the last Ardri of the great house of Nial.

CHAPTER VI

The Betrayal of Ireland

Dermot's Dilemma—His Flight to England—Applies to Henry II for Assistance—Meets Strongbow—Engages FitzStephen—Returns to Ireland—FitzStephen lands—Besieges Wexford—Dermot attacks Ossory—Comes to Terms with Roderick O'Conor and Tiernan O'Rourke—Maurice FitzGerald arrives—Strongbow sends Le Gros.

Dermot was now between the devil and the deep sea. The devil being Tiernan O'Rourke and the sea Roderick O'Conor. Whichever way he turned he had to face a foe, for friends he had none. O'Rourke, a vindictive and violent man, was the first to move. Elated by his victory over O'Loughlin, and strengthened by his alliance with O'Conor, he determined to settle old scores with the ex-King of Leinster. To make assurance doubly sure, he enlisted the friendship of Dermot O'Melaghlin, his brother-in-law, and the sympathy of the Ostmen of Dublin, as well as the support of many of the men of Leinster. With this force he proceeded to exact hostages from Dermot McMurrough "in order to take vengeance upon him" for his wife—fourteen years after that eventful episode in her career! Dermot, in face of such a hostile array, fled, and thus left Roderick O'Conor sole King of Ireland.

O'Conor now made a circuit of the island, getting hostages from all the various septs save the Cinel Owen, the subjects of Murtagh O'Loughlin. These held out for over twelve months, and were with difficulty subdued.

It is as necessary here to follow the fortunes of Dermot

as it was in a previous chapter those of Brian Boru, for a full understanding of the baleful influences at work for the subjugation of Ireland, and the ultimate loss of her independence.

On the 1st of August, 1166, Dermot fled from Ferns to Youghal, and thence took ship to Bristol. Here he and the few companions of his misfortunes were well received by Robert FitzHarding, a prominent citizen of Bristol who had been a warm supporter of Queen Matilda, and was therefore in high favour with King Henry II. FitzHarding, on hearing Dermot's story and on being appealed to by the ex-king for help to regain his kingdom, must have recognized that the work of restoration was far too great an undertaking for a man of his years or means; and there is little doubt that he recommended Dermot to apply direct to King Henry, acquainting him at the same time of Pope Adrian's Bull and Henry's slumbering intention to subdue Ireland. Henry, however, was in distant Aquitaine, and thither Dermot followed him. Here he endeavoured to enlist the active sympathy of the king; but Henry had his time fully occupied in endeavouring to pacify the province, which was in a state of revolt. Nevertheless he gave Dermot a letter in which he stated that any assisting the Prince of Leinster to recover his dominion would be assured of his favour.

Armed with these letters patent Dermot returned to the hospitable house of FitzHarding at Bristol, where he caused the King's letter to be read in public, and issued broadcast invitations to such as would accompany him, and held out liberal inducements to those who would undertake the risk of settling in Ireland. Amongst those who lent an ear to his promises of grants of land in Leinster was Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who had lost the major portion of the estates in Wales which he had inherited from his father and grandfather, and was ambitious to retrieve his fortune.

The nickname of Strongbow which he bore had been first bestowed on his father, but is now associated solely with himself, and it is as Strongbow his name lives to-day.

Dermot and Strongbow quickly came to terms, whereby Dermot, always good at promising, agreed to give his eldest daughter, Eva, to Strongbow as wife, and to ensure him the succession to the throne of Leinster. The first arrangement, of course, lay in Dermot's power to carry out, but the latter could only be assured by conquest. Dermot's eldest son and heir, Enna, was alive and in the clutches of the King of Ossory, who on Dermot's return to Ireland, as was customary in dealing with royal prisoners, cruelly blinded him. In any case the tribal law forbade the transfer of land to any individual, or the succession to the crown to even the heir apparent, without the consent of the people. But no doubt Strongbow valued Dermot's promises at what they were worth, and took the risk with his eyes open. That he exercised due caution is proved by the fact that he pondered on the problem as to whether he should consider Henry's letter to Dermot sufficiently strong to justify his helping him, or get a special permit from the King himself before proceeding. In this way a delay of two years occurred before he took action.

In the meantime, to a man of Dermot's temperament delay was irksome, and, being ill at ease, he, possibly on the advice of Strongbow, repaired to North Wales, and at St. Davids was entertained by the bishop, David FitzGerald, who no doubt sympathized with Dermot as one who had been a munificent patron of the Church, and possibly might be again. Dermot, it must be remembered, had at this time grants of money from King Henry, and was therefore no beggar. At St. Davids Dermot was promised the assistance of Robert FitzStephen, who was released for that purpose from the prison in which he had been immured by his cousin, Rhys ap Gruffudd, a prince of South Wales, on account of

HENRY II

From the monument at Fontevrault in Anjou

his adherence to Henry. It was arranged that FitzStephen, accompanied by Maurice FitzGerald, brother of the bishop, should in the following Spring cross to Ireland and receive as a reward for their services the town of Wexford and a large portion of the adjoining territory, and that Dermot should leave forthwith to make preparations for their coming. Accordingly Dermot, after a twelvemonth's absence, returned to Ireland in August, 1167, landing a little south of Arklow Head, and repairing quietly to Ferns, where the Church secreted and sheltered him during the winter. But a man of Dermot's eminence could not long remain hidden. His presence in Leinster became known to O'Conor and Tiernan O'Rourke, who at once called on the King of Meath and the Ostmen of Dublin, and took the field against him. Dermot, using all the diplomacy he could master with such implacable enemies, prolonged negotiations for peace without avail, and an encounter took place between the foe and his retainers which ended in a victory for the enemy.

It is strange that notwithstanding this victory Dermot succeeded in getting the victors to come to terms. O'Conor he pacified by the giving of hostages, and O'Rourke accepted gold (no doubt English gold supplied by King Henry) in recognition of his personal grievance against Dermot, and so the Ardri and his coadjutor departed, leaving him once more in possession of lands which were less than a moiety of those which he once had held.

The year 1168 seems to have passed away in comparative peace. If human nature then bore even a remote resemblance to human nature in our own day, Dermot no doubt heard with sorrow and anger of the blinding of his eldest son, Enna, by the King of Ossory, and no doubt, if fatherhood was what it is now, he vowed vengeance on his many enemies. At any rate, irritated by the slow coming of the expected invading host, he sent his secretary, Maurice Regan, to Wales, with instructions to renew his promises of grants

of land and other rewards to all who would help him. As the "Song of Dermot and the Earl", so admirably edited by Mr. Goddard Orpen, tells us, Dermot announced that—

> Whoever shall wish for land or pence,
> Horses, trappings, or chargers,
> Gold or silver, I shall give them
> A very ample pay.
> Whoever may wish for soil or sod,
> Richly shall I enfeoff them.

This message roused the slumbering enthusiasm of Robert FitzStephen, and he got together a small army consisting of some 30 knights, 60 half-armoured horsemen, and 300 youthful archers, and, putting them on board three vessels, he landed on 1st May, 1169, at Bannow Bay, on the coast of Wexford, where a chasm between the rocks was long known as "FitzStephen's Stride". Here next day they were joined by Maurice de Prendergast of Rhos, in Pembrokeshire, who brought with him, in two ships, some ten knights and a large body of archers. The total force must have numbered about 700 men. The acknowledged leader was FitzStephen, who had with him Meyler FitzHenry, his nephew; Miles, a son of the Bishop of St. Davids; Harvey de Montmorency, an uncle of Strongbow; and Robert de Barry, a brother of Giraldus the historian. As soon as Dermot heard of their arrival he sent his son Donnell to greet them, and he himself being again in high favour with his people, they flocked to his standard, with the result that he was able to join the invaders with a force of 500 men. Having determined their line of action, the combined forces marched on Wexford. This old Danish town was filled no longer with vikings but with simple traders, who did what they could in their own defence. The town was garrisoned by 2000 men, who sallied forth, full of confidence, to meet the foe. But they had no longer to contend with kerns and gallowglasses, but an orderly

array of fully armed men clad in complete armour and mounted on heavy Flemish horses also clothed in armour. No wonder that they deemed it wiser to return to their towers and battlements for shelter than meet such foes in the open. But they did not retreat until they had set fire to the wooden huts of which their suburbs were composed, and having done so they closed the city gates, from which they twice drove back their assailants. So violently, indeed, did they drive the enemy back, that they withdrew, Giraldus says, "in all great haste from the walls", eighteen English being killed, while the townsmen lost but three. Sunset saw no change in the situation.

Next morning FitzStephen was preparing to renew the attack, when he was approached by the besieged, who, led by two bishops, sued for peace and agreed to surrender the town and swear fealty to Dermot, to whom they gave four hostages. These terms were accepted, and in order to prove his good faith to his Norman allies, Dermot presented the town of Wexford to FitzStephen.

Elated with this success, Dermot, after three weeks' rest at Ferns, proposed an attack on Ossory. With reinforcements his army now consisted of nearly 3000 men. With these he deemed it possible not alone to subdue Ossory but to regain all his lost possessions. To the English it mattered little what enemy they were called upon to face, and accordingly an attack on Ossory was made forthwith. The Ossory men, like the Danes of Wexford, saw the futility of fighting in the open; they therefore attacked the invading force from ambuscades, and, gradually luring them into woods and bogs, very nearly gained the day. But the English, who had been retiring, suddenly faced their foes, and, being supported by the return of many of Dermot's men who had fled, a belated and bloody victory was won. It is said that over 200 heads of his enemies were laid at Dermot's feet, and that he turned them over one by one in order to identify them, praising

God the while. Dermot subsequently made several raids on Ossory, but without success.

Roderick O'Conor now began to grow alarmed at the progress made by Dermot and his English allies. He appealed to the princes and chiefs, and, war being declared against Dermot, Roderick found himself at the head of a large army. Dermot, dreading the possible consequences of attempting to cope with such a foe, retired to fastnesses near Ferns, and having strengthened a naturally strong position he awaited the arrival of O'Conor. Roderick, on his part, saw the impossibility of conquering Dermot under such circumstances, and deemed it wiser to send offers of gifts to FitzStephen to induce him to return to his own country. Finding this argument unavailing, he applied to Dermot, promising to restore him to his kingdom if he would join forces with him and exterminate the foreigners. But Dermot, bad as he was, would not consent to this treachery, and in the end, after fruitless negotiations, an understanding was arrived at, Dermot agreeing to acknowledge Roderick as Ardri, and handing over his son Conor as hostage; receiving in return the peaceable possession of Leinster. It is believed that in addition to these terms a secret agreement was made between Dermot and Roderick, whereby the former promised to get rid of the foreigners as soon as Leinster was subdued, and not to introduce any more into the country.

Dermot was, as we have seen, a good promiser, but he had no intention to keep his word. Maurice de Prendergast having left him in disgust at his barbarity, he welcomed with enthusiasm the arrival of Maurice FitzGerald, FitzStephen's half-brother, who brought with him 10 knights, 30 mounted men, and 100 archers. It was the archery which frequently decided the day, for the death-dealing crossbows were weapons of war with which the Irish were unfamiliar; therefore so large an addition to his forces greatly rejoiced the wily King of Leinster. He recommenced all his old tactics,

and when his son-in-law, O'Brien of Thomond, rebelled against O'Conor, he sent FitzStephen and the English to his assistance, with the result that the Ardri was driven back to his kingdom defeated and disgraced.

But Dermot had now a more ambitious project in hand. He determined to march on Dublin and wrest it from the Ostmen. For this he required reinforcements, and he therefore again addressed himself to Strongbow, urging him to hasten his coming. The delay on Strongbow's part, however, was caused by Henry's ambiguous replies to his several applications for permission to attack Ireland; but as he could not come himself he sent, in May, 1170, his friend Raymond le Gros, with a small force consisting of 10 men-at-arms and 70 archers. Le Gros landed near Waterford, and was with De Montmorency, who joined him almost immediately, besieged by the men of Waterford and Ossory, numbering nearly 3000. He had, however, fortified the position and driven into the enclosure several head of wild cattle. These, when he was attacked, he drove out and followed, and, the terrified cattle clearing the way, he fell upon the disordered ranks of the enemy, slaughtering many and taking seventy prisoners. These, at De Montmorency's instigation, had their limbs broken and were then cast into the sea.

Dermot and his allies now awaited with eagerness the promised coming of Strongbow.

CHAPTER VII

The Anglo-Norman Invasion

Dermot again King of Leinster—Strongbow arrives—Fall of Waterford—Marriage of Strongbow and Eva—The Taking of Dublin—Death of Dermot—Strongbow's Struggles for Supremacy—King Henry's Demands—Danish Attack on Dublin defeated.

Dermot was now once more King of Leinster. Thanks to his Anglo-Norman allies he had won his own again, and he had in addition the support of his son-in-law, Donnell O'Brien, King of Thomond. But Dermot was an ambitious man. He never suffered from "that dull stagnation of the soul, content". He determined, therefore, not alone to be King of Leinster, but to be Ardri as well. He confided his desires to his friends, FitzStephen and FitzGerald, and following their advice awaited the arrival of more English before he attempted any further conflict.

Having dispatched Raymond le Gros to Ireland, Strongbow marched northward to Milford Haven, collecting men and arms as he proceeded, and his success may be gauged from the fact that when ready to embark he was at the head of a force consisting of 200 knights and 1600 men the majority of whom were archers. At the last moment a message from King Henry arrived commanding him to abandon the enterprise; but it was too late, Strongbow and his troops set sail, and landed, on 23rd August, 1170, at Waterford. Here he was joined by Raymond, and an attack was at once made on the town.

Waterford had been for centuries a stronghold of the

Norsemen, and the Ostmen made as vigorous an effort to repulse the Normans as did their kin at Wexford. But though a walled town the walls had their weak spot, and, this spot being discovered by Raymond, he directed all his energies to making a breach, and was so successful that his men poured through it into the town and butchered the unfortunate citizens, two Norse leaders being captured and put to death.

Having taken Waterford, Strongbow sent messengers to Dermot announcing the fact, and Dermot, accompanied by his daughter Eva, and by FitzStephen and FitzGerald, hastened to the scene, arriving in time for Dermot, possibly at the urgent request of his daughter, to beg that no further slaughter of the enemy should take place, and that the lives of Reginald, one of the leaders, and of Melaghlin O'Phelan, Prince of the Decies, should be spared. To this request Strongbow gave a reluctant consent. No doubt he had a shrewd suspicion as to the source from which it emanated and, on the eve of his nuptials, he could not refuse.

The marriage of Eva and Strongbow now took place, not, we may be sure, with the chief actors surrounded by the dead and the dying and in the glare of burning homesteads, as pictured by Maclise, nor with the groans of the wounded and the lamentations of women bereft of their loved ones in the air, but in a quiet orderly fashion such as would suggest itself to the mind of that "strong still man", who, as drawn for us by Giraldus, was "in defeat, as in victory . . . calm and unmoved, neither driven to despair by adversity nor unduly elated by prosperity".

Having by this marriage fulfilled his promise to Strongbow, it was natural that Dermot, who never did anything for nothing, should look to his son-in-law to enlarge the borders which his children were to inherit; accordingly we find him urging an immediate attack on Dublin. The leaders were nothing loath; they were there to do or die, to

carve out their fortunes or perish in the attempt. Apart from other interests, it was essential as a base for action that Dublin should be secured, for it was now the keystone to the situation, the most accessible port on the east coast of Ireland.

For nearly three hundred years Dublin had been in the hands of the Scandinavians, who had gradually grown, as we have seen, more devoted to trading than to fighting, and it is therefore not surprising that when Dermot and Strongbow appeared before the walls of the city with nearly 5000 men, the Ostmen should come to the conclusion that terms of peace would better serve them than to try the fortunes of war with such a host. This conclusion was only arrived at after much deliberation. In the first affright the Danish king, Haskulf, had applied for help to Roderick O'Conor, and the Ardri had marched at once to his assistance and stood ready outside Dublin to throw his weight into the balance, being accompanied by O'Rourke and the Kings of Meath and Uriel. At the last moment, however, Haskulf deemed "discretion the better part of valour", and suggested through Laurence O'Toole, the Archbishop of Dublin and a brother-in-law of Dermot, that an agreement might be come to. Dermot sent his secretary, Maurice Regan, to demand thirty hostages, and much delay arose on this score, for the position of hostage was no enviable one, inasmuch as it meant possible loss of sight, or life, in case of any disagreement.

While the negotiations were pending, two impetuous spirits, Raymond le Gros and Miles de Cogan, becoming impatient, rushed at the walls without consulting either Strongbow or Dermot. They gained access, and the Ostmen, surprised at this onslaught, fled to their ships, which lay ready in the river, and sailed off to the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. The city was now thrown open, and Strongbow and Dermot entered in triumph, their entry being witnessed by O'Conor and his confederates, who, deeming that Haskulf had acted treacherously, at once departed and disbanded.

One would imagine that with Dublin at his feet and all Leinster in his hand, Dermot would have been satisfied. He was now sixty years of age and had lived every hour of his life. He had known the bitterness of defeat and the sorrows which spring from misfortune. But the restlessness of his nature and the thirst for revenge were such that he was impelled to wreak further vengeance on O'Rourke and all who had been instrumental in his expulsion. Accordingly he headed an army and invaded O'Rourke's territory, which lay in the county of Cavan, plundering and burning as he went, and taking many prisoners and cattle.

East Meath gave way to Dermot and gave him hostages, withdrawing their allegiance from O'Conor and their support from O'Rourke, with the result that O'Rourke slew the hostages he had from East Meath, and urged O'Conor to slay those he held from Dermot. These included a son and grandson of Dermot, and a son of his foster-brother. Before taking extreme measures the Ardri is said to have written a letter of expostulation to Dermot, reminding him of his undertaking to get rid of the foreigners, and telling him if he did not keep his word he would send him the detruncated head of his son. Dermot sent an arrogant reply, and the hostages were all beheaded.

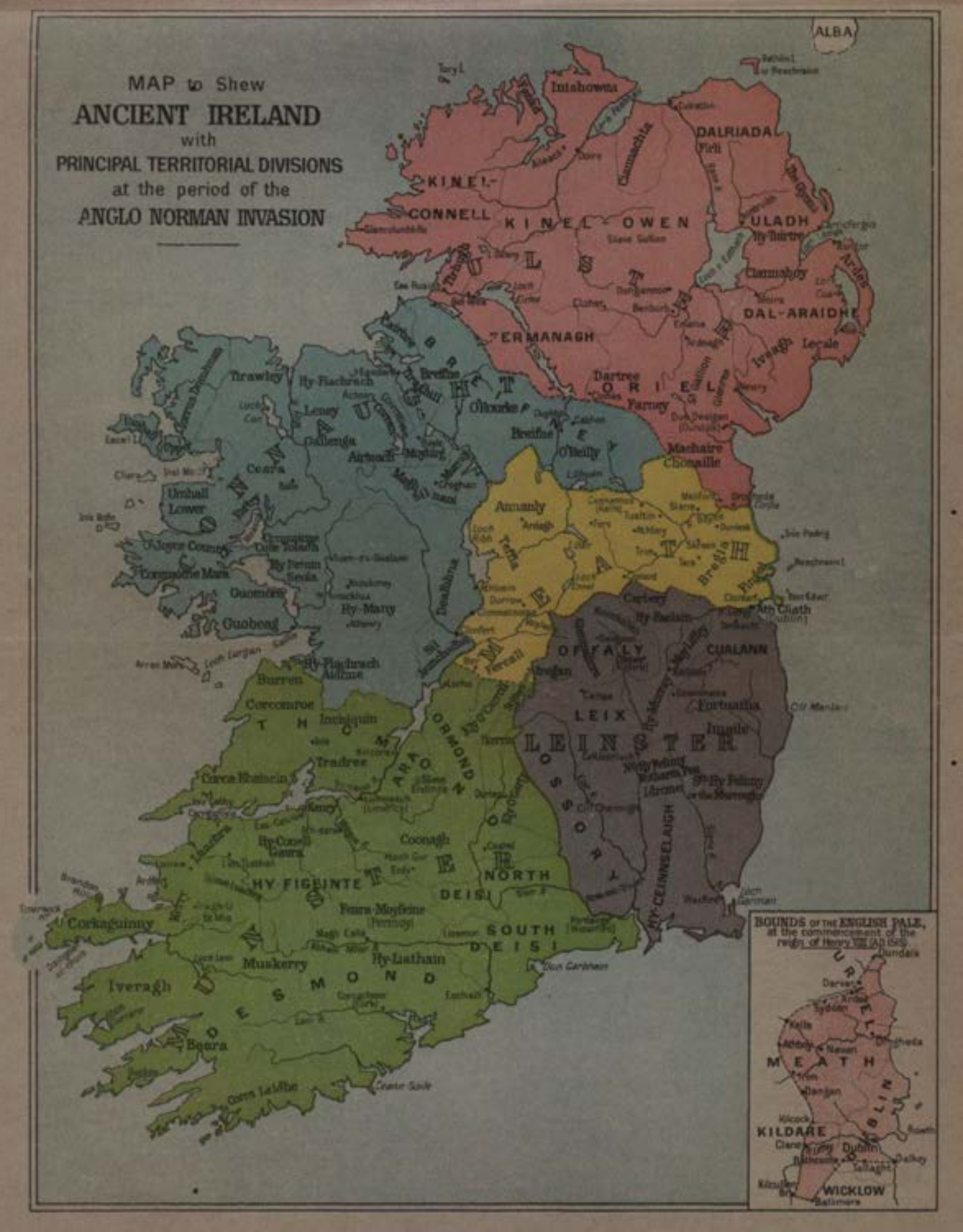
Henry of England, hearing of the phenomenal successes which had attended Strongbow, became alarmed. No doubt Henry anticipated Thomas Carlyle, and concluded that Ireland was "England's back parlour", and that it was highly dangerous to the peace and welfare of Britain that an independent power, composed for the most part of Englishmen, should be established so close to his own realm. He had had enough to do to keep his haughty barons in proper subjection; to rule them at such a distance should they prove hostile, would be almost impossible. Accordingly he issued an edict forbidding any ship sailing from any part of his dominions to carry anything to Ireland, and ordering all his subjects

in Ireland to return before the following Easter, on pain of forfeiting their lands and being for ever banished from his realm.

Strongbow's position now was far from being a happy one. Not alone had he Henry to contend against (an idea which could not for a moment be entertained), but, Dermot dying somewhat suddenly, he found himself immediately the object of a hostile demonstration made by the Irish kings, who refused to recognize in him the lawful successor to the kingdom of Leinster. Only three Irishmen of any note are said to have remained loyal to Strongbow. These were his brother-in-law, Donnell Kavanagh, an illegitimate son of Dermot; O'Reilly of Breffny; and Aulaff O'Garvy, a petty chieftain.

The revolt was led by Murtough McMurrough, son of Dermot's brother, and he was backed up by the Ardri, O'Conor, who summoned "the Irish of all Ireland", and at the head of an army of 5000 laid siege to Dublin. Inside the city the archbishop, Laurence O'Toole, was not idle. He wrote letters inviting, amongst others, Gottred, King of Man, urging him to blockade Dublin by sea. Gottred, nothing loath, sailed to Ireland with thirty ships and cast anchor at the mouth of the Liffey. Thus Strongbow found himself surrounded, and in danger of being starved out.

The siege lasted nearly two months, the provisions were fast running out, and the position was desperate. The besieged knew not where to look for relief when word came that FitzStephen was also besieged in his castle of Carrick and if not relieved within three days all would be over with him. To be quiescent under such circumstances was manifestly impossible, and Strongbow determined to make a last effort. He held a council of war, at which it was resolved to send the archbishop to the Ardri with an offer from the Earl that he would, if the siege were raised, "become his man and hold Leinster of him". This proposal was laughed to scorn


MAP to Shew
ANCIENT IRELAND
with
PRINCIPAL TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS
at the period of the
ANGLO NORMAN INVASION
ALBA
Inishowen
DALRIADA
KINEL-
CONNELL
KINEL OWEN
ULADH
Clannaboy
DAL-ARAIDHE
TERMANAGH
Dartree
ORIEL
Farney
Machaire Chonaille
Trawley
Hy Fiachrach
Lenny
Gallenga
Airtech
Ceara
Umhall Lower
Joyce Country
Connemara
Guaire
Guaire
Hy-Many
Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne
Annaly
Tethba
MEATH
Carbery
Hy Fabhlain
Ath Cliath
Dublin
O'TALLY
CUALANN
Burren
Corcomroe
Inchiquin
THOMOND
Tradree
Circa Rhoisin
Coonagh
HY-FIGEINTE
NORTH DEISI
SOUTH DEISI
Corkaguinny
Muskerry
Hy-Liathain
Iveragh
DESMOND
Beara
Fotharta
Imale
LEIX
LEINSTER
HY-CEINNSELAIGH
BOUNDS OF THE ENGLISH PALE,
at the commencement of the
reign of Henry VIII. (A.D. 1509)
Dundalk
Drogheda
MEATH
KILDARE
Dublin
WICKLOW

by O'Conor, who replied that Strongbow must surrender Waterford, Wexford, and Dublin and clear out of the country with his followers, and that if he did not agree to do so Dublin would be assaulted on the morrow.

Under these circumstances Strongbow did the only thing a courageous man could do. He determined to attack O'Conor and die the death of a man, and having divided his forces into three companies, and leaving a handful of soldiers to keep the Irish within the gates in check, he fell suddenly upon the investing army and routed it, O'Conor himself barely escaping with his life. Many have tried to explain this astonishing victory. The most credible explanation seems to be that the Irish were unprepared, and also that they had a dread of the bow and arrow which dealt death at a distance, and were weapons of war which they had not as yet adopted themselves.

Leaving Dublin in charge of Miles de Cogan, Strongbow hastened to the relief of FitzStephen at Carrick on Slaney, only to find that he, with the handful of archers who were with him, had been taken prisoners by guile; and when the Earl demanded his release, he was told that if he persisted he would be sent the head without the body.

Seeing that FitzStephen's case was hopeless, Strongbow proceeded to Waterford, where he was visited by his brother-in-law, Donnell O'Brien, King of Thomond, who proposed a joint attack on the King of Ossory. To this the Earl consented. Ossory, who had held his own against repeated attacks by Dermot, seeing no good could come of fighting against great odds, came under safe-conduct of Maurice de Prendergast, with the result that he was left unmolested and the expedition broken up.

Henry now sent a peremptory command to Strongbow that he required his presence in England. Vainly the Earl endeavoured to evade the inevitable. First he sent Le Gros with an assurance to the King that all he held in Ireland was

at the King's service. Henry not being satisfied, and demanding further explanation of the Earl's conduct, Strongbow sent his uncle, Henry de Montmorency, with instructions to offer on his behalf to surrender to the King the cities of Dublin and Waterford and the other strongholds which the Earl held in right of his wife; and Henry, we are told, promised on his doing so to restore to Strongbow his lands in Wales and Normandy, which had been confiscated, to leave him in possession of the rest of what he had acquired by his marriage, and to appoint him Seneschal of Ireland. At the same time the King commanded the Earl to appear in person before him, and accordingly Strongbow set sail for England and found the King at Pembroke.

In Strongbow's absence a determined attack on Dublin was made by the Danes, who were not going to lose without a struggle their valuable possessions in the city which they had held so long. Haskulf, the ruler of Dublin, who had fled so hurriedly on the approach of Strongbow, now returned with a fleet of sixty vessels and an army of 10,000 men. The little force of defenders, under Miles de Cogan, did not exceed 600 men in all, but they were trained fighters and thoroughly reliable. The Danes, led by John the Wode, or the mad, a warrior, said to be a nephew of the King of Norway, were reported to be "men with iron hearts as well as iron arms".

Before the commencement of hostilities Miles de Cogan had an amusing interview with a petty king of the district bearing the euphonious name of MacGillamocholmog. This worthy evidently had an eye to the main chance, for when O'Conor invested Dublin he had sided with the Ardri, and on his departure had made peace with Miles and given him hostages. Such a broken reed was no use to De Cogan, and as he suspected him of being a weathercock he suggested that the chief should watch the tide of battle from afar and throw in his lot with the winner—a happy thought which at once won

MacGillamocholmog's approval, and accordingly he placed his men in a secure position from which to watch any turn events might take. As the Danes entered by the eastern gate of the city, Miles advanced to meet them, having first secretly dispatched his brother Richard with some thirty horsemen by a western exit to take a circuitous route and attack the enemy in the rear. While Miles de Cogan's archers were doing good service from the battlements, Richard, as instructed, fell upon the enemy unexpectedly, and John the Wode, hearing the commotion caused by this attack, turned back to the rescue of his men; whereupon Miles at once advanced with some 300 men and played havoc with the Danes, who fled in confusion. This rout was no sooner seen by MacGillamocholmog than he at once called on his men to join "the rightful English" and pursue the flying foe. John the Wode was slain and Haskulf taken prisoner. When brought before De Cogan he maintained a defiant air. "We came", he cried, "this time a small band, but it is only the beginning. If I live we shall soon return in much greater numbers." ("Much virtue in 'if'.") Miles replied by striking off his head.

CHAPTER VIII

King Henry in Ireland

The Aloofness of Ulster—Cinel Connel and Cinel Owen—Strongbow and King Henry—Henry visits Ireland—His Sojourn in Dublin—His Departure for Normandy—The Treaty of Windsor—Raymond's Romance—Death of Strongbow.

The student of history cannot but be struck by the strange aloofness of Ulster in all this turmoil and uproar. These "drums and tramplings" seem not to have disturbed her serenity, and even the coming of Strongbow failed to arouse in this portion of the country any disquietude or alarm. We have seen that when appealed to by Haskulf, the Ardri hastened to his assistance with the Kings of Meath and of Uriel, but Ulster, apart from Uriel, exhibited no sign of sympathy, and simply attended to her own affairs. By Ulster, we do not refer alone to the counties of Antrim and Down, which were for long known by that name, but the entire north of Ireland, as far south as the County Cavan. We shall see how even on the arrival of Henry of England this indifference as to what was happening in the south was maintained.

The modern province of Ulster, it will be remembered, then consisted of the following "septs": the Cinel Owen, who occupied Tyrone and Derry; the Cinel Connel, seated in Donegal; the Ulidians, inhabitants of Antrim and Down; and the Oirghialla or people of Uriel, a territory embracing Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan. These septs were no less quarrelsome than their kin of the south, and one reason for their keeping aloof possibly was that they were too

busy settling their own disputes to pay any attention to what was going on in the rest of Ireland. When Murtough O'Loughlin was slain in 1166, Roderick O'Conor, as Ardri, following his father's example, divided Tirowen between Niall O'Loughlin and Aedh O'Neill; but this state of affairs did not last long, owing to internal dissensions. In 1169 Conor O'Loughlin, a son of Murtough, assumed the kingship, but was killed in a petty war in 1170. Niall O'Loughlin then grasped the crown and appears to have held it, although his authority was disregarded by the Cinel Connel and the Ulidians, and in consequence the septs went to war with each other, the result being that the Cinel Connel defeated the Cinel Owen "and great slaughter was put upon them". Niall O'Loughlin appears to have been King of the Cinel Owen when Henry arrived in Ireland.

Strongbow's surmise that the King would be angry with him proved to be correct. Henry was at the time much perturbed by the action taken by the Pope in connection with Becket's murder. Cardinal legates had been sent to make full enquiry into the King's supposed complicity with the violent death of the archbishop, and Henry found a vent for his anger in upbraiding Strongbow for his conduct in invading Ireland without the royal permit. Strongbow, however, knowing well his royal master, was all humility, and laid all he possessed in Ireland at Henry's feet, so that at last Henry's wrath subsided, "and though the mutterings of the thunder were loud the deadly bolt did not fall".

The King, who had been delayed at Pembroke by unfavourable winds, now embarked, and landed at Waterford on 17th October, 1171. His fleet must have been an imposing sight, consisting as it did of 400 ships, on board of which was an army of 500 knights, and 4000 horse and foot, the latter including a large body of archers. But though Henry was accompanied by this large force, which must in all have numbered about 10,000, he came to Ireland, as

he assured a deputation of the men of Wexford—who waited on him in connection with Robert FitzStephen, whom they held prisoner—in no spirit of hostility, but rather as a friend and a protector against any wrong that might be done them by his barons. In proof of this peaceful attitude the King, when FitzStephen was brought before him, reprimanded him severely and ordered him to be further imprisoned. A little later FitzStephen was released, and some years afterwards was given grants of land in Ireland.

Waterford was now formally surrendered to Henry by Strongbow, who also did homage for Leinster. This example was followed by the submission of the Irish kings and chiefs, who took the oath of fealty, did homage, gave hostages, and agreed to pay tribute. The princes of Ulster, however, held aloof, and Henry does not appear to have concerned himself about them. Roderick O'Conor, the Ardri, did not do personal homage to Henry, but met his messengers, Hugh de Lacy and William FitzAudelin, and made his submission to them.

On 1st November Henry set out for Dublin, arriving on the 11th, being the feast of St. Martin. Here, although the royal tent had been brought for his use, he had a palace built outside the walls of the city. The structure was such as was used by the native kings, and made of wattles or peeled osiers, and here he received the native kings, not as an invader of their realms, but as a friend, and such condescension on the part of a monarch who was all-powerful was pleasing to a people who have always been noted for their courtesy.

During his stay in Dublin, which extended over Christmas —which was kept with the usual festivities—Henry endeavoured to enlist the sympathy of the Church, knowing well it would stand to his credit if he had to come in conflict with the cardinals, whose visitation to England was ruffling his composure. In this he was very successful, prelate after prelate

being won over, and giving him letters accepting him as the Lord of Ireland.

It was during this memorable visit that Henry granted the first Dublin charter, an instrument by which he gave to his men of Bristol his city of Dublin to be inhabited, together with all the liberties and free customs which they had at Bristol and throughout his entire land.

But the news from England became more and more disquieting. Henry was threatened with excommunication and the possibility of his realms being placed under an interdict. In addition, the King had the chagrin to learn that his son Henry and some of the more powerful of the barons were in a state of revolt. Accordingly he took his departure with all speed, setting sail from Wexford on Easter Monday, 17th April, 1172.

During his sojourn in Ireland Henry had rewarded some of his faithful followers by giving them grants of land, with leave to extend their borders as best they could. These grants were to a great extent of a nominal character. Most of what he gave was in the hands of the Irish, and to be enjoyed would have to be won and held by the sword. The grants included the gift of Leinster to Strongbow, Meath to De Lacy, and Ulster, which had not submitted to him and over which he had no control whatever, to John de Courcy.

As soon as Henry had departed, trouble commenced. It began in Meath, where O'Rourke was called upon to share his ancient heritage with De Lacy. He naturally refused, fighting followed, and O'Rourke was slain. In like manner Strongbow found Leinster in a state of ferment. The only known remedy was recourse to arms, and settlement by this means was in active progress when the Earl was summoned by King Henry to Normandy, when he was appointed governor of the frontier fortress of Gisors. Later, Strongbow and De Lacy were engaged in the defence of Verneuil, and Henry

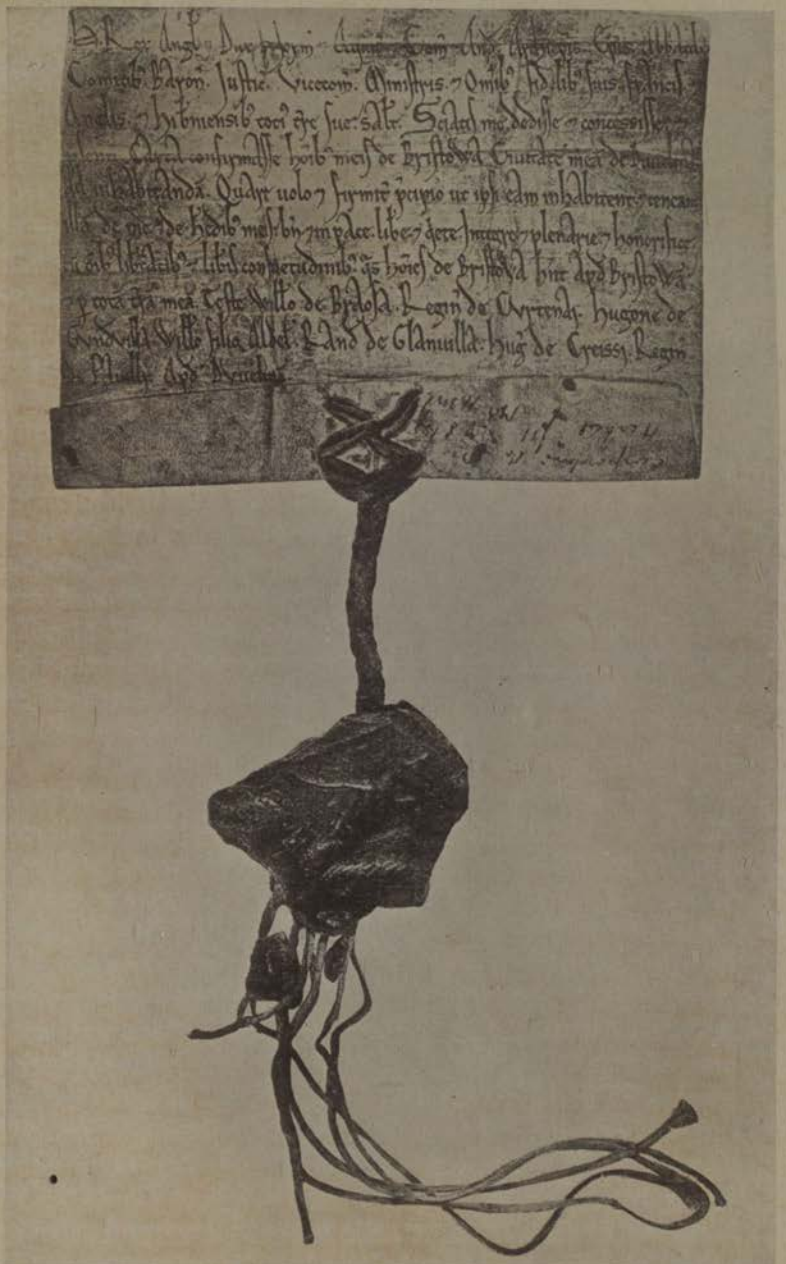
was so well pleased with the services of Strongbow that he gave him permission to return to Ireland, at the same time appointing him viceroy. Raymond le Gros is said to have been appointed the Earl's coadjutor, and he returned to Ireland with him, being appointed a little later supreme military commander.

England's troubles proved, as they have often proved since, Ireland's opportunity. Henry was engaged in war with Lewis of France, and, hearing of his difficulties, the Irish chiefs, in spite of the fact that they had so recently sworn fealty to him, arose in rebellion against him, encouraged by the knowledge that Henry had withdrawn the garrisons he had left in Ireland, to aid him in his war with the revolted barons.

The troops left in Dublin were in a state of discontent, and threatened to mutiny if not paid, and the only way to appease them, apparently, was to allow them to subsist by plundering the Irish. Accordingly incursions were made into the surrounding districts, notably into Offalay, which proved very successful, the victors returning with considerable booty and with fresh supplies of horses and arms.

Attacks on Lismore and an expedition against Munster followed, into the particulars of which we need not enter; suffice it to note that in the Munster campaign Strongbow suffered such reverses that when the news became known a general rising of the Irish took place in response to a summons from Roderick, and in this Ulster took a prominent part.

In the year following (1175) reprisals for this rising were made, and the country was in a ferment, indeed so much so that O'Conor wrote to Henry to arrange a treaty of peace. The result of the negotiations which followed was that a treaty was signed whereby Henry "granted to Roderick, his liege man, King of Connaught, as long as he should faithfully serve him, that he should be king under him,



THE DUBLIN CHARTER, GRANTED BY HENRY II (1171–2), AND SEAL

From a facsimile of the original in the Archives of the Municipal Corporation of Dublin

Henry II, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, &c., notifies that he has granted and confirmed to his men of Bristowa (Bristol) his city of Duvelina (Dublin) to be inhabited and held by them from him and his heirs, with all liberties and free customs which they have at Bristol and throughout his entire land.
Witnesses: William de Braose; Reginald de Curtenai, and others.

prepared to do him service as his vassal; and that he should hold his land (of Connaught) well and peaceably, as he held it before his lord the King of England entered Ireland, rendering to him tribute". It was arranged by this treaty, known as the Treaty of Windsor, that Roderick was to be overlord, and as such was to collect the tribute due to the English crown and transmit it to Henry, and in the event of the kings or chiefs of other territories refusing to recognize his authority, he was promised the aid of the English troops to reduce them to submission. With regard to Connaught, it was stipulated that O'Conor should pay an annual tribute of one merchantable hide in ten. It was also agreed that the Ardri was not to interfere with the lands held by the King or his barons, such as Leinster and Meath, and the towns of Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford. In return for his services O'Conor was to hold his hereditary kingdom of Connaught as he had held it before the arrival of the English.

Though such arrangements may be deemed satisfactory in theory, the terms of the Treaty of Windsor proved utterly useless in practice. It was manifestly impossible for Roderick O'Conor to collect from the Kings of Ulster the tribute due to Henry. They had never submitted to Henry, and it was not likely that they would submit to O'Conor. In fact, it has been proved that O'Conor was an exceedingly weak man, who could not exact obedience even from his own household. His son Murrough, in 1177, invited the English "to spoil Connaught through hatred of his father", and though in an attempt to carry out his wishes Miles de Cogan and his knights were unsuccessful, much damage was done. Murrough no doubt repented of his very unfilial conduct, his father giving him plenty of time for reflection by blinding him, as was the inhuman custom of the time.

In this arid desert of human misery, of lost hopes and baffled desires, it is delightful to come suddenly across a

wayward blossom of pure romance, a story of the triumph not of death but of love. It appears that that popular soldier Raymond le Gros, the idol of the army, and one of the most successful of commanders, had, on the death of the Constable of Leinster, asked his chief the Earl for the vacant post, begging also at the same time for the hand of Strongbow's sister, Basilia, in marriage. Both these requests being refused, Raymond, in high dudgeon, left Ireland for his father's castle at Carew, in Pembrokeshire, De Montmorency, the Earl's uncle, being appointed Constable.

De Montmorency was most unpopular with his men, and in consequence he was seldom able to inspirit them sufficiently to lead them to victory; consequently, as was natural, one disaster followed another. His first expedition was a failure. O'Brien, King of Thomond, having renounced his allegiance to Henry, a large force was sent to ensure his obedience. O'Brien, however, surprised the English at daybreak, and they were driven back to Waterford with the loss of 700 men. Strongbow was shut up in the town, surrounded by the enemy, and in a position of extreme danger. He then remembered Raymond, and sent him an urgent message, begging him to return and promising him that his two requests would be granted. Raymond responded readily, and landed with 500 troops. He immediately repaired to Strongbow's aid, liberated him from a position of great jeopardy, and quelled an incipient mutiny of Ostmen which might have proved serious. As a fitting reward for his many and great services Raymond was married to Basilia in Wexford with great pomp, and appointed, as promised, Constable of Leinster.

The indefatigable and ever-victorious Raymond was requisitioned, in his capacity of Constable of Leinster, not alone to assist in the quelling of rebellions of the Irish against the English, but on more than one occasion he was called upon, as the representative of King Henry, to

assist one Irish sept against another, or even a sept divided against itself. One of these expeditions was undertaken at the request of Dermot MacCarthy, King of Desmond, who had been deprived of his kingdom by his eldest son and thrown into prison. MacCarthy, when sending his petition, promised large rewards to Raymond, as well as liberal pay to his troops. Raymond at once repaired to Cork, and by force of arms restored his kingdom to MacCarthy.

It was while on this expedition that Raymond received a letter from his wife telling him that Strongbow was dead. The Earl had died from blood-poisoning, and had left instructions that he was not to be buried until Raymond returned. Raymond returned with all speed, and when he reached Dublin, Strongbow's funeral took place (June, 1176), Archbishop Laurence O'Toole performing the obsequies.

CHAPTER IX

The Earldom of Ulster

FitzAudelin appointed Procurator—Arrival of John de Courcy—He enters Ulster and takes Downpatrick—Defeats MacDunlevy, King of Ulster—Battle of Down—Prince John visits Ireland—His Mission a Failure—De Courcy's Doings in Ulster—His Lands confiscated—Hugh de Lacy created Earl of Ulster.

On the death of Strongbow, Raymond assumed the position of procurator in Ireland until the King's will should be known. Henry, always of a very jealous disposition, and suspicious of his barons lest by any chance they should grow too great to be subdued, had never trusted Raymond. Le Gros was of a frank and free nature, liberal and honest, but he had enemies who were envious of his success and seized every opportunity to traduce him. Under these circumstances it is not strange that Henry, on learning of Strongbow's death, and distrusting Raymond, should send William FitzAudelin (who had held office previously in 1173) to be procurator instead of Raymond, with instructions to seize for the King all the castles belonging to the Earl in Leinster.

Raymond, on FitzAudelin being appointed Viceroy, was deprived of all authority, civil or military, and retired to his estates in Wexford, where he died in 1182.

With FitzAudelin came Miles de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen, who had accompanied Henry when he left Ireland, and had no doubt done good service for the King

in France and in England. They were now to reap their reward in Ireland. With them came John de Courcy, who now first set foot on Irish soil.

FitzAudelin was descended from a half-brother of William the Conqueror, and was therefore connected with Henry, who appears to have placed great confidence in him, and given him several offices under the crown. Giraldus describes him as "a man full of guile, bland and deceitful, much given to wine and women—covetous of money and ambitious of Court favour". He was an over-cautious man, and damped the ardour of such enterprising spirits as Raymond and FitzStephen, and in the end his viceroyalty was not a success, and he was recalled (1178).

Of those who chafed under FitzAudelin's rule John de Courcy was the most notable. He was a tall, fair man, muscular, of great strength and remarkable daring. He possessed the qualities of a soldier rather than of a commander, for he was so keen a combatant that he forgot the aplomb of the general, and plunged impetuously into the thick of the fight. Such a man was not likely to long remain quiescent. King Henry, whose ebullience often cost him dear (witness his unguarded exclamation which resulted in the murder of Becket), had said to De Courcy, as he had already said to Strongbow half-jestingly, that he might take Ulster if he could. With a lively recollection of this utterance De Courcy prepared to carry it into effect. Gathering round him some of the more adventurous spirits in the garrison of Dublin, he, with a little band of 22 men-at-arms and about 500 others, and gathering as he went malcontents of all kinds, boldly advanced into Ulster, where hitherto the arms of the English had not penetrated. Marching rapidly through Drogheda and Dundalk, he took by surprise the city of Downpatrick, which was then the chief seat of the Kings of Ulidia. The resistance of the Ulster men could not but be feeble, and the King of the district,

named Rory MacDunlevy, precipitously fled, only to return at the head of an army of 10,000 men.

A peaceable settlement was attempted by Cardinal Vivian, who happened to be in Downpatrick on his way to Dublin. He had come from Rome as papal legate, and he endeavoured to get the opposing forces to come to terms by offering, on the part of the Ulster chiefs, to acknowledge the sovereignty of King Henry and pay him tribute if De Courcy would withdraw his men and return to Dublin. His efforts, however, were fruitless, and, seeing that war was inevitable, he is said to have urged the Irish to fight for their country.

In a week MacDunlevy returned with his huge army, determined to win his own again. De Courcy is said to have had only 700 men. They met on the low-lying district north of the city, which at the time consisted of swampy ground. Here a battle ensued in which the deadly cross-bows did their work so effectively that De Courcy, notwithstanding the great odds, won a decisive victory. This victory he followed up later in a battle fought on the 24th of June, also at Down. On this occasion Rory MacDunlevy was not alone. As King of the Ulidians he was supported by Melaghlin O'Neill, King of the Cinel Owen. The Church was represented on the battle-field by the Archbishop of Armagh and a large number of the clergy, including the Bishop of Down, who displayed numerous relics in the hope of securing success. The result of this encounter is variously estimated at from 500 to 1500 men killed. "The Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Down, and all the clergy were taken prisoners, and the English secured the croziers of St. Comgall and St. Dachiarog, the 'Book of Armagh', and a bell called 'Ceolan an Tighearna'. The bishops were later set at liberty, and the 'Book of Armagh' was restored, with the bell, but they killed all the inferior clergy, and kept the other noble relics."

A third engagement took place in 1178 at Fir-Li, a tribal

district on the Bann, in the north of Antrim. De Courcy was raiding cattle, when he was set upon by O'Flynn, the chief of the territory he was plundering, in a narrow pass, and barely escaped with his life, his troops being cut down by the Irish in such numbers that it was said there were but eleven survivors. Later, at Newry, De Courcy met the combined forces of O'Carroll of Uriel and Rory MacDunlevy, and sustained a loss of nearly 500 men.

Knowing the superstitious nature of the Irish, De Courcy spread abroad a legend to the effect that a prophecy of Merlin was fulfilled in his advent. The prediction was supposed to be to the effect that Ulster would be conquered by a white knight mounted on a white charger, and having on his shield graven figures of birds. He took care in dress and accoutrements to pose as the white knight, and thus gained credence for the tale, which, in addition to a prophecy of St. Columba that a needy and broken man, a stranger from a far country, should come to Down with a small following and possess himself of the city, had its weight in a credulous age, and no doubt in some measure furthered his claim to be heaven-sent. As the news of his exploits spread he was reinforced from Dublin by large numbers of adventurers sick of Fitz-Audelin's pacific rule.

While De Courcy from his stronghold in Downpatrick carried war into the surrounding districts, the Ulster princes continued to fight amongst themselves as if there were no enemy in their midst. The various septs were much weakened by this state of constant warfare, and thereby laid themselves open to become an easy prey to De Courcy, who lost no opportunity to widen his borders; accordingly we find a new English settlement near Derry, and mote castles (wooden towers erected on artificial mounds of earth) dotted all over the adjacent country.

In 1180 De Courcy strengthened his position by marrying Affreca, daughter of Gottred, King of Man. By this alliance

he gained a powerful friend in Gottred, and was enabled to keep open communication by sea with Dublin, and also with England, a fact which proved of incalculable advantage to him in later years.

The hostile spirit of the various Irish tribes towards each other continued without any abatement. Thus we find, in 1181, the Cinel Connel engaged in a sanguinary struggle with the kingdom of Connaught, in which "were killed sixteen sons of kings of Connaught, and stark slaughter of Connaught besides". Even the presence of their common enemy did not serve to animate the princes of Ulster to combine and sink their differences, for the Cinel Owen in this very same year (1181), under their king, Donnell O'Loughlin, "gained a battle over the Ulidians, and over Ui Tuirtri, and over Fir-Li around Rory MacDunlevy and Cumee O'Flynn". Both these chiefs had been De Courcy's most formidable opponents; therefore, by their action, the Cinel Owen were actively assisting the invader. The result of this and subsequent raids into Ulidia by the Cinel Owen, in which they "took many thousands of cows", is seen in the significant fact that the Ulidians, unable to cope with their neighbours, appealed to De Courcy to help them, and when Donnell O'Loughlin made his next raid, in 1182, he was met and defeated by De Courcy's troops.

Little by little the superior arms and strong government of De Courcy made an impression on the people, who gradually settled down, more or less contentedly, under his protection. Recognizing the civilizing power of the Church, John de Courcy did much for the spiritual advancement of his subjects; for such, remembering his unlimited jurisdiction, we may call them. He reigned supreme in the territory he had won, and was not in any way interfered with by either King or Viceroy. In his relations with the Church he was princely in his munificence, as a long list of his gifts to the See of Down proves. He introduced Benedictine monks into

Down, and granted large tracts of land to others, besides endowing religious houses of various kinds.

In 1184 Henry carried out a design he long had contemplated, by carrying into effect the appointment of his son John as Lord of Ireland. There is even evidence that at one time Henry thought of having John crowned King of Ireland. This idea, however, luckily came to nothing; but at the Council of Oxford, in May, 1177, John, then a boy of ten, had been, with the authority of the Pope, constituted "Dominus Hiberniae", and as such all those to whom grants of land were made had done homage to him and taken the oath of fealty.

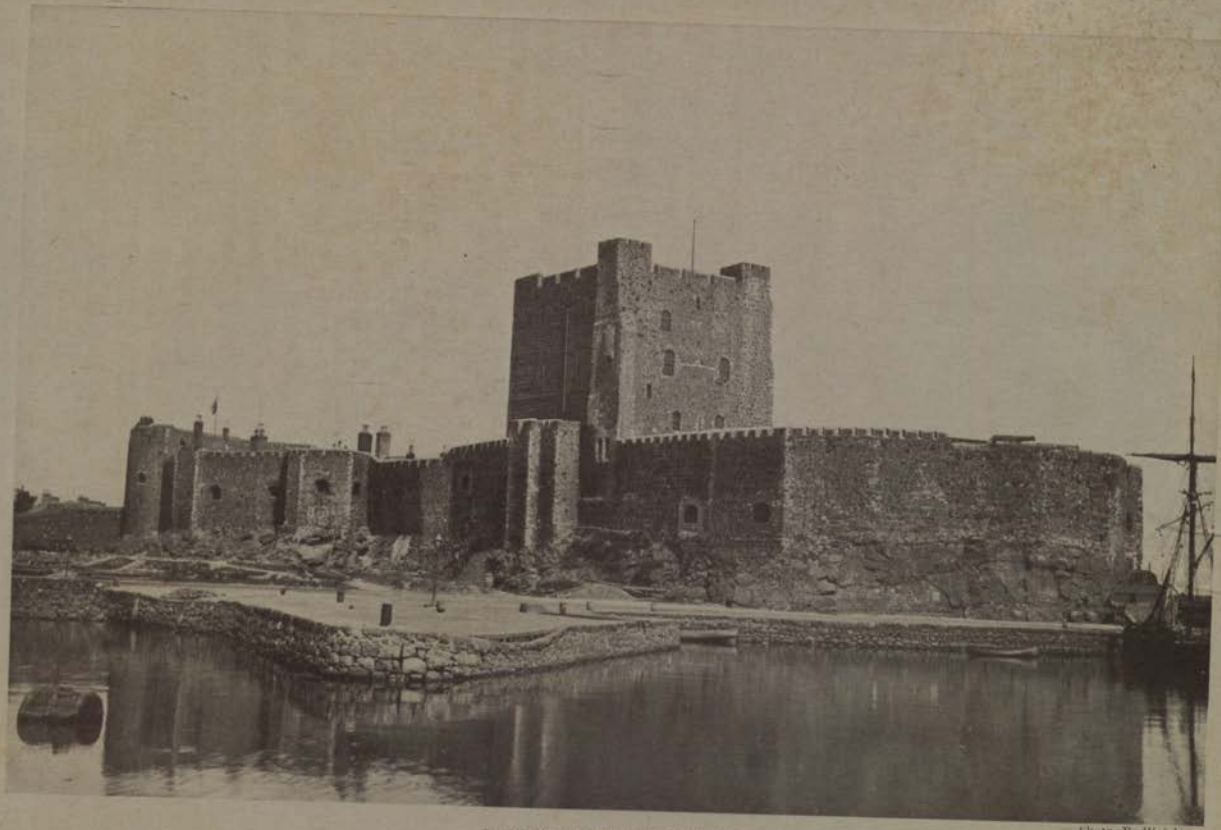
Laurence O'Toole, the archbishop, had died in 1180, and had been succeeded by John Comyn, and now (1184) Henry once more recalled Hugh de Lacy, and appointed Philip of Worcester as procurator. In the following year Philip invaded Armagh, and exacted a heavy tribute from the clergy. What the object of this expedition may have been is uncertain, but the Annals of Ulster record that "Philip of Worcester, accompanied by the Foreigners of Erin, remained at Armagh for six days in the middle of Lent".

John landed in Waterford on 24th April, 1185, having with him 300 knights and a large force of men-at-arms. Immediately on his arrival the Irish chiefs in the neighbourhood came tc welcome and pay homage to him. Instead of behaving with becoming dignity, John appears to have derided his Irish subjects, and it is said that their beards were rudely pulled in ridicule by the clean-shaven Norman members of his retinue. The Irish, ever proud and sensitive, withdrew in anger at this treatment, and carried their grievances to the kings of the south and west of Ireland, with the result that John's visit to Ireland proved a disastrous failure. He returned to England on 17th December, having, in the short period of eight months, undone all that King Henry had by his admirable diplomacy succeeded in doing.

Henry, no doubt recognizing the failure of John's mission to Ireland, and possibly dreading an outbreak of hostilities as a result of his son's flippant treatment of the Irish chiefs, bethought him of John de Courcy, and forthwith appointed him Justiciar. De Courcy accordingly transferred the scene of his activities from Downpatrick to Dublin. His followers in Ulster, however, continued as belligerent as ever, and we read of raids into Tirowen (1188), followed by a battle in which O'Loughlin was slain, and in 1189 of an engagement between the English, who had entered Fermanagh, and O'Carroll of Uriel and O'Mahony, Lord of Fermanagh, in which the latter was killed and the English were victorious.

In 1189 Henry II died. He was succeeded by his son, Richard Cœur de Lion, who paid no attention to his Irish dominions, and but little to his possessions in either England or Normandy, but sought a wider field for his activities in the Third Crusade. While Richard was abroad, John reigned at home, and one of his first acts was to supersede De Courcy and appoint Hugh de Lacy, a son of the first Viceroy, to take his place. De Courcy retired to Downpatrick, and in the very year of his retirement, for some inexplicable reason, plundered Tirowen and, in the following year, Armagh.

The history of Ulster for the next fifteen years is little more than the record of De Courcy's doings. Ever ambitious, he never ceased in his endeavours to extend his borders. Two of his chief opponents, O'Carroll of Uriel and Cumee O'Flynn, were removed, the former by a violent, the latter by a natural death. Life to De Courcy was a perpetual warfare. The years 1197 to 1199 were spent by him in unending conflict with the Irish and in building castles to hold them in check. In 1197 his brother, Jordan de Courcy, was killed by an Irishman of his household, and this piece of treachery seems to have embittered John. He avenged his brother's death on some of the petty chiefs, and gave large tracts of their land to a Scotsman named Duncan



CARRICKFERGUS CASTLE

Photo. R. Welch

A magnificent specimen of an Anglo-Norman fortress, built by De Courcy in 1178 to protect his Ulster possessions.

Galloway, who aided him. There was, it appears, a Scottish settlement near Coleraine, where large grants were made later by King John to the Scots of Galloway.

John de Courcy's independent rule in Ulster seems to have roused the envy of Hugh de Lacy, who appears to have misrepresented him to John as being engaged "in destroying the King's land in Ireland". It is possible that De Courcy refused to pay homage to John, and claimed his holding in Ulster as an independent kingdom. Whatever his offence may have been, John de Courcy was treacherously arrested by De Lacy in 1201, and was to have been delivered up to the King, but that his followers obtained his release by undertaking not to plunder the De Lacy lands in future. De Courcy seems from this time to have been a marked man. We read of his getting safe-conducts to and from the King's Court "to treat of peace". These he seems to have ignored. Two years later De Lacy came north and defeated him in a battle at Downpatrick, and banished him from Ulster. On the 31st of August, 1204, he was summoned to appear before King John, "as he had sworn and given hostages to do", and in default his lands were to be confiscated. As De Courcy ignored this mandate, Hugh de Lacy again repaired to Ulster, and after a struggle took De Courcy prisoner. He was again set at liberty on condition that he went to the Holy Land; but he did not go. Finally the King's patience was exhausted, and on the 29th of May, 1205, he granted to Hugh de Lacy all the land of Ulster, to hold of the King in fee. John at the same time created De Lacy Earl of Ulster.

CHAPTER X

King John in Ulster

The Earl of Ulster's Predatory Expeditions—King John's Second Visit to Ireland—Pursues De Lacy into Ulster—Seizes Castles at Carlingford and Carrickfergus—Aedh O'Neill aids the King—Gradual Blending of "Englishry" and "Irishry"—John de Gray, the Justiciar, invades Ulster—Repelled by O'Neill—The Scottish Colony in Ulster—Death of John.

In one respect the English settlers in Ireland may be said to have become more Irish than the Irish themselves, and that was in their pugnacity. The Irish were not the only people who quarrelled amongst themselves at this period, for the great barons, from the newly created Earl of Ulster down, were constantly at war with each other. Judged by present-day standards, one would have imagined that, no matter how badly those under him behaved, the Viceroy, at any rate, would be an upholder of law and order. This was not so. In the autumn of 1208 Hugh de Lacy appears to have been Chief Governor of Ireland, and yet we find him at war with the English of Munster, and engaged in a battle fought at Thurles in which his losses are recorded as being very heavy. From many sources we learn that Hugh de Lacy and his half-brother Walter were continually raiding and plundering, and that in consequence of their conduct "all Leinster and Munster were brought to utter destruction".

This state of affairs in Ireland roused the ire of King John, who determined to pay a second visit to the island. For this visit he had a double motive. One, to see for himself how matters stood in Ireland, the other to revenge himself on William de Braose, a baron who had fled to Ireland to escape

the King's wrath. De Braose had failed to give hostages when demanded, and his wife had, in the presence of the King's messengers, given as her reason for not delivering up her son as hostage, that she believed her children would not be safe in the King's hands, inasmuch as he had murdered his nephew Arthur. Such a statement must undoubtedly have aroused John's vindictiveness, and when he heard that William de Braose was harboured by Hugh and Walter de Lacy his wrath knew no bounds.

John landed on 20th June, 1210, at Waterford. Here he was joined by the Justiciar, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, and a body of Irish troops. He advanced by easy stages to Dublin, where he arrived on the 28th June, and possibly next day gave audience to some barons of Meath who came to plead with the king on behalf of Walter de Lacy. They prayed His Majesty to dissociate him from his brother Hugh, and offered on his behalf complete submission, and besought the King's forgiveness. John, however, was inflexible, and the intercession was of no avail.

With the King was John de Courcy, who, no doubt, was not sorry to see the treacherous De Lacys suffering for their misdeeds. The King pursued Hugh de Lacy northwards, for on the 8th of July we find him at Dundalk. Here his forces were augmented by the enrolment of 400 soldiers who had deserted Hugh de Lacy, and were eager to join the royal troops. De Lacy, "when he found that the King was going north, set fire to his own castles in Dundalk and to those which had been erected by the men of Uriel. He himself fled to Carrickfergus, leaving the chief of his people burning and destroying the castles of the country." The King now went to Carlingford and seized the castle, which belonged to Hugh de Lacy.

From Carrickfergus De Lacy appears to have entered the district in County Down called Lecale, which was very difficult to enter save by a narrow and tortuous passage through

the mountains of Mourne. The termination of this defile was guarded by the castle of Dundrum, a magnificent pile then known as the castle of Rath. Here De Lacy considered himself impregnable. But John constructed a bridge of boats across the narrow straits at this point, and sending one-half of his troops across the bridge to advance round the mountains towards the castle, went himself with the other half by sea. De Lacy, seeing himself in danger of being surrounded and his retreat cut off, fled without offering any resistance, leaving the King to include Dundrum in the list of the royal castles.

June the 16th found John at Carrickfergus, which was Hugh de Lacy's strongest castle, and in it the few followers who had remained faithful to him were gathered making active preparations for a siege. But the King's forces soon reduced them to obedience and the castle surrendered, some thirty knights being taken prisoners. Hugh de Lacy and William de Braose, who was with him, however, did not await John's arrival, but escaped in a boat to Scotland. The wife of William de Braose and his two sons were among the fugitives, but were captured by Duncan of Carrick, one of the Galloways of the Scottish settlement in Ulster. When news of this capture reached John he sent John de Courcy for the captives, who were thrown into prison, and on very good evidence we learn that they were starved to death by the King's orders.

John stayed at Carrickfergus from the 19th to 28th of July. He fortified and repaired the various castles he had taken from Hugh de Lacy, and sent a force to seize the castle of Antrim. He also gave instructions to De Gray for the building of two galleys to be used on Lough Neagh.

The King now turned southwards, having secured to the crown the Lordship of Ulster by seizing the principal castles and other strongholds. He had achieved his desire to crush William de Braose and the De Lacys, and confiscate their

lands. It is true he had not received homage from the princes of Ulster, but this lack of a proper spirit of submission on their part does not appear to have troubled him. The kings of the south and west at his command assisted him in the taking of Carrickfergus, but Aedh O'Neill, the most powerful prince in Ulster, after aiding him in expelling De Lacy, returned home without giving hostages to the King.

John returned to England after a sojourn of sixty-six days, in which he displayed an activity worthy of his father, who was noted for the celerity of his movements. While in Ireland he took some steps to secure the observance of English laws and customs. The administration of the justice of the Crown had been of no avail in the lands of the ruling nobles; these were scenes of lawlessness and bloodshed. There was, as we have seen, no effective central government, and nothing like a nation. As Froude remarked: "Ireland was a theatre for a universal scramble of selfishness, and the invaders caught the national contagion, and became, as the phrase went, *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*". Strange as it may appear, the glamour of the Celtic disposition cast a subtle spell over their conquerors, whether Danish or Norman, and so deep and far-reaching were its effects that the Government, becoming alarmed, passed statute after statute, forbidding the "Englishry" of Ireland to use the Irish language, or intermarry with Irish families, or copy Irish habits. Severe penalties, fines, forfeitures, and even capital punishment were threatened for such offences; but all in vain. The character of Hugh de Lacy the younger may have largely been due to the fact that his mother was a daughter of Roderick O'Conor. That such an alliance as this marriage of the elder De Lacy was displeasing to King Henry is proved by the fact that the King, on hearing of it, immediately took from him the custody of Dublin.

But these changes, involving the gradual adoption by the "Foreigners", as the Anglo-Normans were called, of Irish

customs and of Irish dress, were like all steps in social development, of very slow growth. The change was first discernible in the people of the south and the west, where the once haughty Norman barons "flung away their very knightly names to assume a barbarous equivalent", and by degrees their children lost the commanding features of their northern extraction and became, in look, in dress, in language, and in disposition, indistinguishable from the Celts their fathers had subdued. No doubt this was due in a large measure to children of Norman parents being nursed by Irish foster-mothers, and thus imbibing from their infancy the sentiments of the country in which they were born.

This evolution in the national character greatly helped the realization of the aim that John de Gray, the Justiciar, had in view, of converting the independent Irish kings into feudal chiefs holding their several tribe-lands directly from the crown. Fight amongst themselves as they might, the Irish now seldom rebelled against the authority of the King of England; and if a tribe became recalcitrant, it proved easier to secure submission by permitting their neighbours to attack them, thus weakening both tribes, than to organize an expedition against them. As the Irish had on many occasions heretofore called on the English to aid them in attempts to conquer their fellow-countrymen, or to be defended from their incursions, so now the Anglo-Normans scattered through the island called on the native tribes with which they were most closely associated for help in any emergency. Thus John when in Ireland secured the services of the most powerful chief in Ulster, Aedh O'Neill, to assist him in expelling Hugh de Lacy; but O'Neill, having done what was required of him, departed without giving hostages to the King.

De Gray, who was called "the Foreign Bishop", proved though a churchman, not alone an able statesman, but also a keen-sighted military strategist. Bent on bringing all Ireland into subjection, he now set himself, no doubt with John's

approval, to subdue Ulster. Having secured the allegiance of the Kings of Connaught and of Thomond, he marched north at the head of a large army, and erected a strong castle at Clones (1211), with the object "of taking possession of the North of Erinn", and with the view, no doubt, of establishing a base for action against the chiefs of the province. From Clones, De Gray made an attempt to enter Tirowen, but was driven back and defeated with heavy loss by Aedh O'Neill.

The example of the Viceroy was followed, possibly with his connivance, by the Scots of Galloway, who forced their way as far as Derry, and despoiled Innishowen, the peninsula between Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly, which was for centuries debatable land between Cinel Owen and the Cinel Connel. In this the Scots of Galloway were aided by the timely arrival of the Earl of Athol and a fleet of seventy-six ships, so that the incursion was evidently as carefully considered as it was skilfully carried out.

There is little doubt that these expeditions were undertaken with the approval, if not the formal sanction, of the King's representative in Ireland. The capture of the wife of De Braose by Duncan of Carrick, one of the Scots of Galloway, had led to Duncan being rewarded by a grant of lands in Antrim. Duncan's nephew, Alan FitzRoland, Earl of Galloway, who accompanied John's army in Ireland, was recompensed for his services by large grants of land in Ulster, and in 1212 De Gray met Duncan of Carrick as the representative of FitzRonald, and assigned to him, on behalf of the King, the whole north-east of Ulster from the River Foyle to the Glynns of Antrim.

As the Scots grew in power they became increasingly menacing to the peace of the province. That they were encouraged by the Crown to weaken the powers of the Irish is almost certain. Their expeditions against the native princes were nearly always followed by rewards in the shape of grants of territory. In recognition of one of these predatory

incursions into Derry the Earl of Athol was granted a portion of land which belonged to O'Neill, and in 1214, after a petty chieftain of the district had been killed, his lands were given to the Earl, who appears to have been able to do pretty well as he liked, for he razed the town of Coleraine in order to build a strong castle, his possession of which, when built, being confirmed to him by John in a charter dated 27th June, 1215. The Earl of Galloway also had his possessions confirmed on the same day. From this it will be seen that the Scottish element in Ulster has existed for centuries. The Scots, being very numerous in the north-east of Ireland, formed a huge clan which in time became as bellicose and unruly as the native princes—with whom they were continually at war—had been.

O'Neill meanwhile proved unsubduable. Not satisfied with presenting an undaunted front to all encroachments on his territories, he carried war into his enemies' lands, burning Coleraine castle in 1213, and in the following year "dealt a red slaughter" on the foreigners in Ulster. Aedh O'Neill was in fact never subdued. Though his life was a perpetual warfare, and though during his thirty years' reign he was perpetually harassed by enemies from within and from without, by not alone the English but by the Irish and by the Scots, he remained independent, and was to the last "a king who gave neither pledge nor hostage to Foreigner nor Gael".

John died in October, 1216. During the last year of his reign he made a large number of grants to towns and individuals in Ireland, whether to secure their loyalty or to obtain money it is difficult to state. Walter de Lacy, in consideration of a fine of 4000 marks, had restored to him his lands and castles in Ulster, and many of those who had been taken prisoners in the castle of Carrickfergus were restored to liberty and given back their lands on payment of certain fines. Thus, no matter what John's conduct in England may have been, he appears at last to have shown a desire to do justice, though somewhat tardy justice, to his subjects in Ireland.

CHAPTER XI

Ulster and the Bruce Invasion

Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl of Ulster—War between Tirconnell and Tirowen—Battle of Drumcliff—Godfrey O'Donnell's Heroism—Felim O'Conor joins Brian O'Neill—Edward Bruce invited by Ulster to invade Ireland—Joined by O'Neill and O'Conor—The Earl of Ulster defeated—Bruce crowned King of Ireland—Arrival of Robert the Bruce—Terrible State of the Country—Defeat and Death of Edward Bruce.

Amongst those who accompanied John on his first visit to Ireland was William de Burgh, a brother of the Hubert de Burgh whose name is familiar to all readers of English history. William received large grants of land in Munster, and is stated to have married a daughter of Donnell O'Brien, King of Munster—another instance of an Anglo-Norman strengthening his position by an alliance with an Irish princess. William de Burgh's eldest son, Richard, when Cathal Crovderg, King of Connaught, died, made an offer for the whole of the province, and through the influence of his uncle, Hubert de Burgh, who was Justiciary of England, his offer was accepted. He then (1226) assumed the title of Lord of Connaught. His lordship was no sinecure, for the various claimants to the vacant throne of Connaught fought in support of their titles, and De Burgh took such stern measures as overlord that he left Connaught "without peace or tranquillity, or without food in any territory". After a tempestuous life he died in 1243. His son, Walter, married the daughter of Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, and in 1286 we find his grandson, Richard, known as the "Red" Earl of Ulster,

in conflict with Donald Oge O'Donnell, a chieftain of Tirconnell.

The old feud between Tirconnell and Tirowen showed no signs of being settled. When the sons of Roderick O'Conor sought an asylum they found one in Tirconnell, while their rivals were welcomed in Tirowen. When Hugh O'Neill died, in 1230, his successor, Domhnall O'Loughlin, waged war on Tirconnell, and had in consequence his own territories devastated by Godfrey O'Donnell in 1232. In 1238 the English deemed the time opportune to subdue the North. Accordingly the Lord Justice, Maurice FitzGerald, with John de Lacy and others, marched into Tirowen and Tirconnell, and, deposing O'Loughlin, placed Brian O'Neill on his throne. By this means they obtained hostages from Tirconnell and the surrounding territories, and could claim, with some justice, that Ulster had at last submitted to English rule. But O'Loughlin had no intention to calmly give up his claim to Tirowen. He fought with O'Neill, and, obtaining assistance from O'Donnell, a battle took place at Maghera in 1241, in which, after a very obstinate fight, O'Loughlin was defeated and slain, and Brian O'Neill became undisputed chief of Tirowen.

Maurice FitzGerald now made a vigorous effort to bring Ulster into subjection. Having erected a strong castle at Sligo, he made frequent incursions into Tirconnell, with varying success. In 1247 he defeated O'Donnell at the battle of Ballyshannon, and so thoroughly overwhelmed his force that he deposed him, and appointed Rory O'Cannannan in his place. This move does not appear to have been successful, for the new chief made such an indifferent ruler that O'Donnell seized the opportunity to make friends with the Lord Justice, and obtained a reinstatement to his old position. This, however, was not done without opposition on O'Cannannan's part; but when he had recourse to arms he was defeated and slain. FitzGerald then sent word to the Viceroy that Tirowen and Tirconnell were prepared to submit, and the Lord Deputy,

De Marisco, entered Tirowen and took formal possession for the Crown. But this submission to the English did not ensure peace between Tirowen and Tirconnell, for we find O'Neill and O'Donnell at war in 1252, and in the next year O'Neill fought FitzGerald, inflicting severe losses and razing several English castles in the north to the ground. Ulster was again free, and continued on her own independent way; but as the clansmen did not confine their activities to their own borders, and invaded Connaught (1257), a huge force was raised by the Viceroy and FitzGerald for the purpose of crushing Godfrey O'Donnell. Though the odds were greatly against him, O'Donnell, nothing daunted, marched to meet the English at the head of a body composed solely of his own subjects. The opposing forces met at Drumcliff, and a long and severely contested battle took place, in which the enthusiasm of the Irish won the day. In this action O'Donnell is said to have met FitzGerald in single combat, both of them being wounded.

The lack of unity amongst the Irish cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that O'Donnell's severe wounds and the weakening of his forces led Brian O'Neill of Tirowen to seize the opportunity to demand hostages of Tirconnell; and though O'Donnell lay suffering from injuries received in combating the common enemy, and many of his most trusted followers had been slain in the same cause, the demand was peremptory. Ill though he was, O'Donnell never flinched, and sending the haughty reply to O'Neill that Tirconnell could still defend herself, he summoned his followers and prepared for battle, being himself carried in a litter at the head of his army. The struggle for supremacy took place on the banks of Lough Swilly, with the result that O'Neill's force was routed. The heroic O'Donnell did not long survive this victory, for on the return journey he died. He was succeeded by Donald Oge O'Donnell.

The history of Ulster, as of Ireland, is at this period the

record of endless fights and reprisals. An attempt was made in 1258 to bring about a spirit of unity amongst the Irish chiefs, and a conference was held in 1258 with that object. But though some of the chiefs attended, and O'Neill was elected Ardri, others refused to acknowledge him, amongst them being O'Donnell of Tirconnell. The conference, however, had some good results, one of them being that Felim O'Conor, King of Connaught, joined Brian O'Neill to oppose the English, and at the battle of Downpatrick (1260) they fought side by side. The alliance, however, was unavailing, for the Irish were defeated, and many chiefs of Ulster and Connaught were slain.

The constant warfare between Tirconnell and Tirowen continued, and in 1275 the O'Neills invaded Tirconnell and devastated the entire district. They were not, however, allowed to do so with impunity, for they were pursued by the new chief, Donald Oge O'Donnell, and were defeated, losing "men, horses, accoutrements, arms, and armour". Six years later Tirowen and Tirconnell were again engaged in conflict, and the latter was defeated with heavy loss.

By these internal dissensions the power of the Ulster chieftains was so weakened that they were unable to offer any resistance to their English adversaries, who lay in wait for a fitting opportunity to attack them. Thus we find Richard de Burgh, who was known as the Red Earl of Ulster, marching north in 1286 and compelling O'Donnell to submit. He also deposed Brian O'Neill, and made a sycophant named Niall O'Neill chief of Tirowen. In 1290 De Burgh plundered Tirconnell, and later pushed as far north as Innishowen, planting a colony there, and erecting at Moville a strong fortress to command the entire district.

Edward I was now on the throne of England, but though in character and aims he proved a great contrast to his predecessor, his succession to the crown made no impression in Ireland, which remained indifferent to such changes, so

absorbed was she in her own affairs. But she was shortly awakened to a wider outlook, and indulged for a time in the wild hope that she might regain her ancient liberty.

There was, as we have seen, a Scottish settlement in Ulster which grew in number and in power under the fostering care of the representatives of the Crown, the Earls of Athol and of Galloway being given, on one pretext or another, large grants of land, the real reason for these grants being that they were rewards for services rendered to the English against the Irish. As time went on the Scots and their Irish neighbours, having much in common, settled down more or less amicably; and finally, by intermarriage and the sympathy which springs from a common origin and similarity in language and in habits, the Scots were merged in their surroundings. The connection between Ireland and Scotland by means of this Scottish colony in Ulster became strengthened, while the wars carried on in Scotland by Edward I tended to make both Scotch and Irish look on him as their common enemy. Such was the sentiment in Ulster when, in Edward II's reign, the overthrow of the English King at Bannockburn in 1314 seemed to point to the possibility of Ireland being enabled to throw off the yoke of the conqueror. Ulster had afforded a sanctuary to Robert Bruce in his hour of adversity, and she now appealed to the victorious king for the dispatch to Ireland of his brother Edward, to whom they offered the crown.

Edward Bruce landed near Carrickfergus, in May, 1315, at the head of 6000 men. He was immediately joined by the O'Neills, and later by Felim O'Conor, King of Connaught. Donald O'Neill, who had been the first to invite Edward to Ireland, swore allegiance to him, other chiefs, Irish and Scottish, following his example. The English settlers in Ulster became the first objects of attack, a hastily formed combination of the various leaders being defeated and driven to take refuge in Carrickfergus. Bruce now proceeded southwards to Dundalk and Ardee, both of which he took.

In the meantime Richard de Burgh had not been idle. He was in Galway at the time of Bruce's landing, and he at once made preparations to stop the depredations in Ulster, by summoning his retainers throughout the west to assemble at Athlone. Here a huge army was formed, at the head of which the Red Earl placed himself, and proceeded northwards to meet Edward Bruce. On the way he came up with the forces of Sir Edmund Butler, Lord Deputy, who was also marching north. De Burgh, desiring to have all the honour and glory of the victory he anticipated, told the Lord Deputy that he had better return to Dublin, as the Earl of Ulster was quite able to defend his possessions unaided. Butler accordingly returned south, and De Burgh, proceeding, met Bruce at Ardee. Seeing the numerical strength of the Red Earl's forces, O'Neill advised Bruce to fall back and take up a position on the River Bann, which he did, being closely followed by De Burgh. Here the opposing armies faced each other on opposite banks of the river, and commenced hostilities by shooting arrows across the water. This strange situation remained unchanged for some days, during which O'Neill and Bruce opened secret negotiations with O'Conor, promising him that, in the event of Bruce's success, Connaught should be his once more, freed from the overrule of the hated English, and that to secure this desirable end he should withdraw from his alliance with De Burgh. Felim was impressed by these overtures from so powerful a prince as Edward Bruce, and he therefore represented to De Burgh that he could no longer linger, and hastily took his departure. The Red Earl, when he saw the departing hosts under the banner of O'Conor, came to the conclusion that he could not cope alone with the enemy, and he therefore began to retreat; but having got as far eastwards as Ballymena, he was overtaken, and compelled to stand his ground. On 10th September a battle was fought at a village four miles south-east of Ballymena, the result being an utter defeat of

De Burgh, who lost the flower of his army and fled south, with the foe in hot pursuit.

Ulster was thus lost, not a town in the whole province remaining loyal to the English, while Bruce marched from victory to victory as he proceeded through Louth and Meath until he reached Kells, where he was met by a fresh opponent in the person of Roger Mortimer at the head of 15,000 men. Despite this large force, Mortimer seems not to have been able to cope with Bruce's troops, who, flushed with success, scattered their enemies and continued their march through Westmeath and Longford. Finally Bruce settled for a time at Loughseudy, in Westmeath, making it his head-quarters, and spending there the winter of 1315. In the spring of 1316 Bruce met near Athy a force of nearly 30,000 men under the command of Butler, and defeated them; and, finding that his own troops were growing restive, he marched northwards, and set up fresh quarters in Dundalk. Here, on the 1st of May, he was crowned King of Ireland in the presence of a huge assembly of Irish and Scottish chieftains.

In the autumn of 1316 Robert Bruce arrived with reinforcements, and the burning and plundering of towns, castles, and churches was carried into Tipperary and Kildare, and even to the walls of Dublin. But the excesses of Edward Bruce had left the country unable to support a standing army of any magnitude, and the natural result was that famine and pestilence decimated his troops. The deplorable condition of the land was such that the inhabitants "used then", according to the annalists, "to eat one another throughout Erin". Bruce also erred in his indiscriminate plunder of foes and friends, a fact which made his Irish allies fall away in dismay.

Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, was now appointed Lieutenant-Governor, and landed in Youghal with 15,000 men. The Geraldines, Butlers, and De la Poers agreed to suspend their differences, and succeeded in raising an army of 30,000

men ready to take the field. Seeing the state of affairs, Robert Bruce returned to Scotland for reinforcements, promising to return to continue the campaign in the following year; and Edward, as the famine he himself created was raging, remained in enforced inactivity at Dundalk.

In 1318 the English forces, under John de Bermingham, took the field against Bruce. Seeing their superiority in numbers, O'Neill advised Bruce to retreat and await the arrival of the promised reinforcements from Scotland; but Bruce determined to fight, and turning a deaf ear to the counsels of the leaders, both Irish and Scottish, he met the opposing force at Faughart, not far from Dundalk. The combat was short, hot, and decisive. The Scots were defeated, Edward Bruce himself killed by an English knight, Sir John de Maupas, and his head was struck off and sent to London. John de Lacy and Sir John de Culwick, who had joined Bruce, were taken prisoners and starved to death. John de Bermingham, for his victory over Bruce, was created Earl of Louth, and three years later we find him appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ireland. The Scottish invasion was at an end.

CHAPTER XII

Ulster Independent

Sufferings of Ulster Colonists—Death of the Red Earl of Ulster—Succeeded by the Brown Earl—The O'Neills of Clanaboy—Amalgamation of "Englishry" and "Irishry"—Ulster lost to the English—Murder of the Brown Earl of Ulster—Sir Ralph Ufford, Lord Justice—Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Earl of Ulster and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

No portion of Ireland suffered more during the invasion of Edward Bruce than did Ulster, for it was chiefly over the northern province that the war raged, and in consequence Ulster presented a pitiable spectacle in 1318. The district was wasted, churches, castles, and cottages were burned, crops ruined, and famine stalked through the land. "There reigned scarcity of victuals . . . insomuch that men did commonly eat one another for want of sustenance. . . ."

In all this turmoil and misery the English colonists were the greatest sufferers, for while the mote castles were left standing some protection was afforded them; but when these were razed, and the Earl of Ulster was defeated, they had to protect themselves as best they could although fighting against great odds. The condition of these people was pitiable; their farms were devastated, their homesteads a mass of ruins, their servants killed or pressed into the service of the Scots, and such live stock as they possessed slaughtered for food for the enemy. Many were utterly ruined by the Scottish raid. Many suffered from the military requisitions of their own lords, who had adopted the Irish practice, for the support of their troops, of "coyne and livery", or free quartering of

the soldiery for food and fodder. Many, gathering together all the raid had left to them, fled from the country. Those who remained sank into the condition of the Irish around them, and the desolated and derelict lands were reoccupied by the native septs. The Red Earl of Ulster, whose proud boast it had been that he could unaided protect his possessions, was no longer able to take sword or lance on behalf of his people. He had, during Robert Bruce's march on Dublin, suffered a great indignity at the hands of the Mayor of Dublin, Robert of Nottingham, who, knowing that the Red Earl's daughter was married to the Bruce, suspected De Burgh of being in sympathy with his son-in-law, and, wishing to render him harmless, he laid violent hands on the Earl and cast him into prison. This indignity preyed on the proud spirit of the hitherto autocratic Earl, and he retired to a monastery, in which, in 1326, he ended his days. He was succeeded by his grandson, William, whose father, John de Burgh, had died in 1313. William de Burgh, to distinguish him from his grandfather, was known as the Brown Earl.

Whatever semblance of law and order the Red Earl may have maintained in Ulster was speedily dispelled during the sway of Edward Bruce, and totally disappeared with his death and the departure of his followers to Scotland. Donald O'Neill, if he was disappointed at the result of Bruce's invasion, quickly perceived that he could himself benefit by the unprotected state of the country. The representatives of the Crown, he clearly saw, were powerless to oppose him, for the forces at their command "were weakly supplied and ill-governed, . . . weakly supplied with men and money, and governed with the worst discipline that ever was seen among men of war." Swallowing his chagrin at Bruce's defeat, he made active preparations to clear the English out of Ulster. But O'Neill reckoned without taking into consideration the tactics of the O'Donnells. These hereditary

enemies of the O'Neills had also cast longing eyes on the fair lands in Ulster, which, by a little exertion, might be theirs, and thus the rival septs, being both desirous to secure the same object, fell upon each other, and endless wars ensued.

But, fight as they might amongst themselves and with each other, the O'Neills and O'Donnells kept their hearts fixed on the acquisition of Ulster, and little by little the chiefs of Tirowen and Tirconnell made their way eastwards, driving out and exterminating all who opposed them. The O'Neills of Clanaboy, descendants of Hugh Boy O'Neill, crossed into Antrim and expelled the English from the "barony of Fuscard, now called the Route", and pursued them beyond the borders, destroying as they went their mote-castles and dwellings, making it impossible for them to return.

It was the hopelessness of their outlook that induced the English, as a last resort, to adopt Irish names as well as Irish habits and customs. The Crown was powerless to help them, for the war on the Continent now occupied Edward's whole attention and also helped to drain Ireland of soldiers, who fought well on the fields of France though in the service of the King of England. The great Earl of Ulster was dead, and his grandson did not possess a tithe of his ability or power. The English colonists had therefore to rely on their own resources, which, as we have seen, left them the choice of being annihilated or of sinking their pride and nationality and becoming to all intents and purposes Irish in language, dress, and customs. Thus it was that even the great English lords, with the exception of Ormonde and Kildare, took Irish names. The De Burghs became McWilliam Eighter and McWilliam Oughter, or the Nether and the Further Burkes; FitzMaurice of Lixnaw became McMorice; FitzUrse of Louth, MacMahon; and even De Bermingham, the conqueror of Edward Bruce, in spite of that famous victory, adopted the Irish name of MacYoris.

With the adoption of Irish names there sprang up a semi-national feeling which temporarily united the English and Irish in a bond of self-defence. Seeing that England could no longer help them, they shook off all allegiance to England, and forgot they were English or Irish, as the case may be, and became one people, known only as "the King's enemies". They established kingdoms and principalities for themselves, recognizing no higher authority, and lived a lawless, turbulent life, becoming in time a greater menace to England than "the mere Irish" had ever been. These independent chieftains of native or Norman descent occupied and held sway over territories which have been described as "some regions as big as a shire, some more, some less, unto a little; some as big as half a shire, and some a little less; where reigneth more than sixty chief captains, whereof some calleth themselves kings, some kings' peers, in their language, some princes, some dukes, some archdukes, that liveth only by the sword, and hath imperial jurisdiction within his room, and obeyeth to no other person, English or Irish, except only to such persons as may subdue him by the sword".

As the Anglo-Irish gradually ceased to recognize the power or authority of the English, so in their turn the representatives of the Crown in Dublin slowly confined the operations of English laws to the English settlements. The purely Irish and Anglo-Irish districts were left outside the law. In fact, the law did not recognize them. No Irishman could plead in the English courts unless he belonged to one of the "five obedient shires", which came to be known as the English Pale, or was connected with one of "the five bloods", the O'Neills, O'Briens, O'Conors, O'Melaghlins, and McMurroughs, who enjoyed by royal grant the privilege of being the king's freemen. Being thus outside the law the Irish were not protected by the law, and to kill an Irishman was not murder. Outside the Pale "the King's writ no longer ran".

Under these conditions the northern province, which had never really been subdued, was a perfect pandemonium, wherein O'Donnells, O'Neills, O'Reillys, and O'Kanes strove ceaselessly for supremacy. William de Burgh, brother of the Red Earl, died in 1324. He had assumed the name of Burke and adopted Irish customs, spoke the Irish language, and, though a grandson of the Norman Hugh de Lacy, was as quick in quarrel and as pugnacious as the most bellicose of Irish chiefs could possibly be. William's son, Walter Burke, inherited a double portion of his father's spirit, and aspired to the kingship of Connaught. As the reigning king, Turlogh O'Conor, naturally objected, Walter made war on him (1330); but Turlogh, with the assistance of Burke's nephew, the Earl of Ulster, defeated him. He then turned his attention to other parts of Connaught, but renewed the war on Turlogh later, and became such a firebrand that the Earl of Ulster, finding his own authority threatened, had him imprisoned at Greencastle (1331), near the mouth of Lough Foyle, and starved to death. This unkinsmanlike action was followed by the murder of the Earl two years later. Walter Burke's sister felt so keenly on the subject of her brother's death that she determined that her nephew, the Earl, should suffer for the deed, and urged her husband, Robert de Mandeville of Ulster, to take revenge. This he did, aided by his servants, in a treacherous manner, by attacking the Earl from behind and splitting open his skull. The murderers were caught and put to death.

The sole issue of the Brown Earl of Ulster's marriage was an infant daughter, and as the Earl held his lands by the sword her pretensions were ignored by two brothers, members of a collateral branch of the De Burghs or Burkes; although by the provisions of feudal tenure the King of England had the right to possess and manage the late Earl's lands during the minority of his child. These Connaught Burkes renounced their allegiance to the English King, and

with the assent of their tenants and the support of their Celtic neighbours proceeded to partition the estates between them, the elder seizing Galway, while the younger took possession of Mayo. In Ulster the O'Neills crossed the Bann and seized Clandeboy, and by degrees the entire province, like that of Connaught, passed wholly into the hands of the Irish; and it could be said of the northern province, as was said at this time of the western, when asked to furnish supplies to England, that no money could be got, as the whole province had fallen into Irish hands.

The Crown now recognized the seriousness of the situation, and took steps to strengthen its authority. The policy now pursued was to weaken the great lords and to play them off one against another, as the great lords themselves had, heretofore, played off the Irish chieftains. It was also decided to prevent, as far as possible, any more English becoming naturalized Irishmen, with all the consequences which followed such a change. With these ends in view, Sir Ralph Ufford was appointed Lord Justice in 1344. Sir Ralph had married the widow of the murdered Earl of Ulster, and had no cause to love the Irish. The Earl of Desmond, having convened a great gathering at Kilkenny, of "prelates, earls, barons, and community of Ireland" to protest against the King's injustice in proposing to resume all royal grants in lieu of certain alleged arrears of debt due to the Crown, the Lord Justice seized his estates, getting possession of the castles of Castle-island and Iniskisty in Kerry, and executed Sir Eustace de la Poer, Sir William Grant, and Sir John Cottrell, Desmond's principal followers. Ten years later we find Desmond appointed Lord Justice.

It now became a ruling principle to fill high offices of State with imported English, to the exclusion of the native Anglo-Irish; a proclamation in 1356 announced that no one born in Ireland should henceforth hold a command in any of the King's towns or castles. The Anglo-Irish had no part or

lot in the government of their own country, and the nominees of the English Court absorbed every place of honour or emolument.

With the view of still further advancing these principles, Edward, in 1361, sent over his third son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, to fill the office of Lord-Lieutenant, granting him at the same time unlimited powers. Furthermore, for the better government of Ireland, all absentee landowners, already amounting to no less than sixty-three, were summoned to Westminster and ordered to provide an army to accompany the newly appointed Viceroy to Ireland.

The Duke of Clarence had married the only daughter and heiress of the Brown Earl of Ulster, and thus became himself, through his wife, titular Earl of Ulster, and the nominal lord of an enormous tract of country stretching from the Bay of Galway nearly up to the coast of Donegal. Most of this land had, however, been seized, as we have seen, by the Burkes. Ulster had been so completely lost that the new Earl of Ulster did not even refer to the province as part of the country which he was to govern, in fact the King himself had declared that Ireland was almost lost.

Lionel landed at Dublin in 1361 with an army of 1500 men. One of his objects in coming was to recover his wife's estates in Ulster, but though his army was large and well equipped, and the whole revenue of the country had been placed at his disposal, he was able to effect but little, and captured only some places of minor importance along the east coast of the province. The Burkes frequently fought amongst themselves, but they were ever united against Lionel, and he remained unable to recover the lands which by right belonged to the Duchess of Clarence; a striking example of how the Anglo-Irish of Ulster were strong enough to bid defiance to even the son of the King of England.

CHAPTER XIII

O'Neill, Prince of Ulster

The Statute of Kilkenny—Ulster's Petty Wars—O'Neill attacks Dundalk and becomes Undisputed Chief of Ulster—Art McMurrough of Leinster—Richard II visits Ireland—O'Neill, "Prince of the Irishry in Ulster", submits—The O'Donnells and the O'Neills combine against the English—O'Neill, Lord Paramount of Ulster.

"The Lord Lionel", as Sir John Davies quaintly calls him, was highly incensed by his inability to recover his wife's property in Ulster. He had journeyed to Ireland with an imposing army and a distinguished suite, including Lord Stafford, Sir John Carew, Sir William de Windsor, and the Earl of Ormonde. He had come not alone to regain his wife's lost lands, but also the Ireland which his royal father had declared to be "almost lost"; he had come determined to rule the country with a rod of iron, and to teach "the mere Irish" and the rebellious Anglo-Irish that they must submit to the rule of the strong arm of England; he came with all the prestige attaching to the son of the most powerful and warlike monarch in the world, and he had in five years accomplished—nothing! This was enough to make a young man wroth.

Disgusted with the state of affairs, he thought of many methods to gain his ends, but could think of no more original plan than a means whereby the Irish and the Anglo-Irish might be made antagonistic for all time, and to this end he devised the Statute of Kilkenny, so called because the Parliament during the sitting of which the Act was passed was held in Kilkenny (1367).

The provisions of this statute were calculated to keep the Irish and the Anglo-Irish as far asunder as possible, to prevent them, in fact, if possible, from ever uniting. They exhibit such legislation as England to-day would hesitate to apply to some protectorate such as, say, Southern Nigeria! Intermarriage and fosterage between English and Irish were strictly forbidden and declared to be high treason, and the perpetrators of such crimes were pronounced to be traitors to "our lord the King". No sale to the Irish of horses or armour in time of peace or food in time of war was permitted. Such transactions were to be dealt with as felony. Englishmen who adopted Irish dress, language, customs, such as the mode of riding without a saddle, entailed forfeiture of their lands. The English were not to permit the Irish to pasture their cattle on English land. Even Irish games, such as hockey, were forbidden.

"In all this it is manifest", wrote Sir John Davies, "that such as had the government of Ireland did indeed intend to make a perpetual enmity between the English and the Irish, pretending that the English should in the end root out the Irish, which, the English not being able to do, caused a perpetual war between the two nations, which continued four hundred and odd years. . . ." But it is easy to make laws; it is another thing to enforce them, and, as Ulster lay outside the jurisdiction of the Crown, the Statute of Kilkenny, so far as the north of Ireland was concerned, was a dead letter. It is only referred to here because it throws some light on the state of the country at the time, and without some knowledge of its provisions it is impossible to fully understand many incidents in the history of Ireland.

Ulster from 1380 to 1390 enjoyed a period of comparative peace. Of course, as might be expected, Tirconnell and Tirowen had their periodical fallings-out, but these wars were insignificant when compared with the injuries done in the past by one province to the other. The contentious O'Donnells

were, as usual, continually wrangling amongst themselves when they were not waging war against the O'Neills. In 1380 O'Donnell was defeated by O'Neill, and the opportunity was seized by the Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of March and Ulster, to invade Tirowen and Tirconnell, on which occasion he razed to the ground the fortress of Castlefin and other castles in the district. But nothing could quell these warlike chiefs, and in 1395 we find O'Donnell waging war on O'Neill, and defeating him with heavy losses. This war lasted, in a desultory way, for four years, O'Donnell devastating the districts through which he forced his way. O'Neill retaliated by invading Tirconnell and defeating O'Donnell. He then attacked the English in the south of Antrim, and, elated with his success, he set fire to the fortress of Carrickfergus, which was the last stronghold of the Anglo-Irish in Ulster. O'Neill now marched from victory to victory. In 1392 he defeated the English of Dundalk, and extorted submission and tribute from that city. The next six years saw O'Neill the acknowledged chief of Ulster, the sole disputant to his claims being the irreconcilable O'Donnell.

Among the humiliations which Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had to endure during his viceroyalty was a severe defeat he experienced at the hands of Art McMurrough, a descendant of Dermot, King of Leinster. Dermot's daughter Eva, as we have seen, was married to Strongbow, but the Leinster septs refused to acknowledge her as their ruler, and elected an illegitimate son of Dermot named Donnell, who was one of the chiefs who submitted to Henry II. The kingship of Leinster was always held by a McMurrough, and these chieftains became so powerful that the English were glad to pay to one of them 80 marks a year as the price of peace. Art McMurrough enjoyed this stipend as King of Leinster, and was recognized by the English as The McMurrough. But the friendly relations between Art and the English did not last long, for in 1358, at a

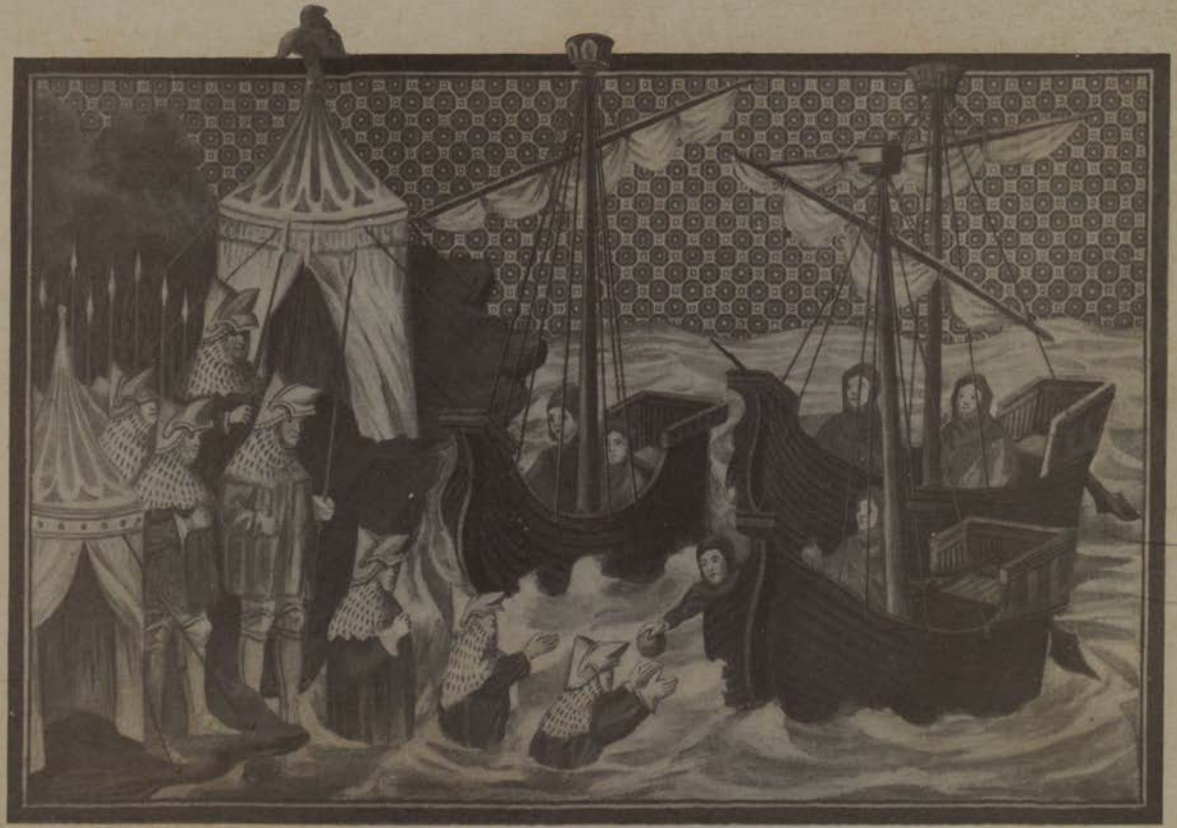
Parliament held at Castledermot, he was proclaimed a traitor, and hostilities were commenced in which The McMurrough won all before him, defeating the Lord-Lieutenant, Sir William de Windsor, in 1369, and seizing lands and castles, which he held despite all the efforts of the English to regain them. The Irish now assumed the offensive in all parts of the country, and when the Leinster colonists were assailed in 1377 they were glad to buy off O'Brien, who had attacked them, by the payment of 100 marks. In this year McMurrough died, and was succeeded by his son, also named Art, who, notwithstanding his father's having been proclaimed a traitor, also received his yearly stipend of 80 marks. The new King of Leinster might have settled down in peace had not the English sought to confiscate the lands belonging to his wife, who, as an Anglo-Irishwoman, had, by her marriage, violated the Statute of Kilkenny, which forbade any alliance between subjects of the King and the Irish; Art therefore determined to protect his property, and made war on the English, and successfully defeated them on every occasion. By the year 1389 the English holding in Leinster had been so reduced, and the outlook for the supremacy of the Crown in Ireland became so dubious, that Richard II, who was now on the throne of England, determined to visit his Irish dominions and crush that rebellious chief the King of Leinster.

Richard landed at Waterford in October, 1394, with 4000 men-at-arms and 30,000 archers. Such a display of force impressed the Irish chiefs who assembled to do the King homage, O'Neill being among the number, which also included Art McMurrough. The King entertained the chiefs with great magnificence, and received their submission. They bound themselves by hostages to be loyal subjects and to answer for the good behaviour of their dependents. Richard published a free pardon to all the disaffected Anglo-Irish; but, McMurrough's actions arousing suspicion, he was cast into

prison. Later he was liberated on giving hostages for his good behaviour; but the imprisonment awakened in him an implacable hatred of the English, which resulted in his attacking Carlow, after the King had left Ireland (1395), and engaging the royal troops at Kells, when the Lord-Lieutenant, Roger Mortimer, the young Earl of March, a grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence and Earl of Ulster, was defeated and slain (1398).

The anger of Richard was now thoroughly roused, and he again landed at Waterford on 1st June, 1399, with a huge army. He marched into Kilkenny and tried to induce The McMurrough to give battle; but that wary chief knew better than to risk an engagement. He retreated into the forests of Carlow, and contented himself with carrying on a guerrilla warfare, which wearied and worried the royal troops, who, in addition to lack of provisions, suffered from disease brought on by exposure and the damp nature of the country through which they had to pass. Messages were now sent to Art from Richard calling upon him to submit; but he scornfully refused to do so, and declared that he was the rightful King of Leinster, and would never cease, in defence of his country, to wage war on the English. All efforts to secure him proving futile, and a conference between Art and the Earl of Gloucester failing to bring about terms of peace, the price of 100 marks was put on The McMurrough's head, without, however, bringing about the desired result. Richard was now (1399) summoned to England to grapple with the insurrection of Henry of Lancaster, and a little later the King was captured, and lost both his crown and his life.

Little as Richard's expeditions to Ireland affected Ulster, they make a landmark in Irish history which cannot be overlooked. That he was well disposed to Ireland is certain, for he took vigorous steps to reform both the corrupt bench and the complicated civil procedure; and that he was well received is proved by the manner in which even the great independent



SHIPS BRINGING FOOD TO THE ARMY OF RICHARD II

From a Harleian MS. in the British Museum

chiefs of the north submitted, the O'Hanlons, MacMahons, O'Donnells, and O'Neills. In particular, O'Neill, as "Prince of the Irishry in Ulster", acknowledged the King to be his sovereign lord, and undertook not only "to remain faithful to the Crown of England, but to restore the *bonaght* (family possession) of Ulster to the Earl of Ulster".

The reign of Richard II is remarkable in that "then was the first statute made against absentees, commanding all such as had land in Ireland to return and reside thereupon upon pain to forfeit two-third parts of the profit thereof". In this reign also the first idea of a "plantation" was formulated, when the chiefs of Wicklow, in consideration of a pension to be paid to them, agreed to remove to other territories which the King undertook to provide, the King's intention being to establish a colony in Wicklow, which was a stronghold of disaffection and of turbulence.

During the fourteen years of Henry IV's reign little or nothing of moment occurred in Ulster, and even in the reign of Henry V there is but little to record, save that the Irish in the province gained ground yearly. In the latter reign the King's attention was almost wholly devoted to his wars with France, and Ireland was, in consequence, left to make her way as best she could. The condition of the English in Ireland was pitiable. They were completely at the mercy of the Irish, and were reduced to buying off their hostility and paying exorbitant sums as the price of peace. Being reduced to poverty by the demands of the Irish chiefs and the extortions of the English officials, the leading men of Dublin and the surrounding districts addressed a memorial to Henry V, begging him to help them in their dire distress, as they were surrounded by Irish enemies and English rebels. Henry was too busy with his French wars to heed the cry of his loyal subjects in Ireland, and the petition remained unanswered.

In 1423, at the commencement of the reign of Henry VI, the O'Donnells and O'Neills, for the first time in their

history, combined their forces, and, aided by other Ulster chiefs, they marched against the frontier fortress of Dundalk. Here they encountered English forces under the command of the Lord-Lieutenant, Edmond Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, and defeated them with a loss of nearly 100 men. They then compelled the English in Louth and Meath to pay tribute, now known as Black Rent, and only on these conditions would they consent to depart. In the following year James, Earl of Ormonde, was Viceroy. He succeeded in getting large reinforcements from England, and, marching north, he did much damage in Ulster. But his triumph was only temporary, for in 1430 O'Neill again attacked Dundalk, and compelled the whole of Meath to pay him tribute.

In 1433 the O'Neills and O'Donnells waged a terrific war against each other; and, to add to the misfortunes of the country, a famine prevailed, so that the season was afterwards known as "the summer of slight acquaintance", from the selfish distance and reserve which the dearth created among friends. In 1434 the chiefs of Tirowen and Tirconnell once more combined to invade the Anglo-Irish districts and to enforce the tribute which O'Neill had imposed on Dundalk; but on this occasion a rash movement on the part of some of the young O'Neills led to the loss of a battle and the capture of Niall Garv O'Donnell, who was sent to England and confined in the Tower of London. In 1439 this heroic chieftain was removed to the Isle of Man, to negotiate for his ransom; but he died there soon after his arrival, and, to the exclusion of his sons, his brother, Naghtan O'Donnell, was installed chief of Tirconnell.

The feuds and alliances which alternated in such rapid succession among the Irish chieftains seem somewhat capricious and uncertain; but the most melancholy feature in these internecine wars was the unprincipled competition for the chieftaincy by which the ruling families in almost all the independent territories were torn into factions. The old

law of tanistry was perverted or ignored by the ambitious. Brothers were arrayed against each other, and uncles and nephews were engaged in perpetual warfare.

During the reign of Henry VI, so strong did the Irish and Anglo-Irish become that panic legislation was resorted to, in the hopes of enforcing the enactments of the Statute of Kilkenny, an Act of which it has been well said that it was "perpetually renewed, habitually set at naught, and constantly evaded by licences of exemption". Under the provisions of this statute the English were empowered to seize and behead any natives whom they found thieving by night or by day, or suspected of that intent. To treat as Irish enemies, and to take the goods of, imprison, and demand a ransom for all persons who did not shave the upper lip at least once a fortnight. Englishmen who married Irishwomen were to be accounted guilty of high treason, and be hanged, drawn, and quartered. To trade with the native Irish was made felony, and natives who had dealings with the English "lieges" were to be treated as the King's enemies.

These fierce and foolish laws bear evidence to the hopelessness and helplessness of the English Government. It made a show of putting forth power which it did not possess, and the folly of its fulminations against the Irish is proved by the fact that, while the Government flattered itself it was in a position to enforce such laws, the great Irish chiefs were receiving an annual tribute from the English as the price of peace. O'Neill received £20 from the barony of Lecale and £40 from the county of Louth, and other chiefs received sums which were tendered to ensure a precarious respite, McMurrough of Leinster getting 80 marks from the Crown. Even the walled towns, recognizing the uselessness of appealing for protection to either the King or his representative in Dublin, purchased peace by an annual cess; Dundalk, for instance, paying a large sum to O'Neill, who, as chief of Ulster, was Lord Paramount.

CHAPTER XIV

An Able Viceroy

Richard, Duke of York, Earl of Ulster, Lord-Lieutenant—His Policy of Conciliation—O'Neill does him Homage—Is attacked by MacGeoghegan—Ormonde invades Ulster—Richard slain at Battle of St. Albans—Accession of Edward IV—The O'Donnells and O'Doghertys—Thomas, Earl of Kildare, Lord-Lieutenant—His Sister marries Henry O'Neill of Tirowen—Conn O'Neill marries Daughter of Kildare, and becomes Liege Subject of the King.

One of the most popular rulers of Ireland, and one who, had his tenure of office been longer by but a few years, would have welded together the disjointed State of Ireland into one harmonious whole, appeared in the person of Richard, Duke of York, who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant in 1449. Descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III, he was looked on by the Yorkists as having a claim to the throne of England superior to that of any prince of Lancastrian blood. The Earl of Cambridge, his father, in order to secure his claims, had, on the eve of Henry V's departure for France in 1415, conspired with Lord Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey to proclaim, as King, the Earl of March. This plot cost the conspirators their lives.

Richard, at the time of his father's death, was but a boy, and he remained for some years contentedly in the wardship of the Crown. In those days men developed early. The victor of Agincourt, at the early age of thirteen, headed an incursion into Scotland, and at fifteen fought in the front of the royal army in the desperate fight at Shrewsbury. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Richard appointed, while yet a young

man, to fill the arduous position of Regent of France. There he supported the declining interests of England with vigour and address, displaying the abilities both of a statesman and of a general. During the short period of his regency the drooping fortunes of England were revived, and towns and castles along the border were recovered. But his political position was such that he could not be without enemies. The jealous eyes of the Lancastrians followed his successes and regarded his triumphs with looks of disapproval, and after twelve months' rule he was recalled, to be dispatched with an honourable banishment as Lieutenant of Ireland.

York proved himself a "happy warrior" notwithstanding the fact that he was relegated from a great to a somewhat obscure office. Contented, apparently, with a lineage and wealth which placed him at the head of the English baronage—his possessions embracing the estates of the houses of York, Clarence, and Mortimer, which were united in him—and satisfied to remain faithful to the Crown, he, when appointed ruler of Ireland, "turned his necessity to glorious gain". In order that there might not appear to be too violent a contrast between the Regency of France and the Lieutenancy of Ireland, Richard was given the full powers of royalty. He stipulated to hold his position for ten years, to receive the whole revenues of Ireland without account, and he succeeded in getting, in addition, 4000 marks from the English Treasury for the first year, and £2000 for each succeeding year of his office. He could also farm the King's lands, dispose of all offices, levy such forces as he should judge necessary, appoint his own deputy, and return to England as often as he pleased.

Landing in Ireland in July, 1449, Richard immediately started on a policy of conciliation. He was himself not unconnected with Ireland, being descended from the De Burghs and also from the De Lacys, through whom he became invested with the earldom of Ulster, the lordships of Connaught,

Clare, Trim, and Meath, and inherited a vast estate in the island. He had many qualities which appealed to the Irish colonists, and to the "mere Irish",—he was valiant, prudent, and temperate; determined, but not precipitate; with a strongly marked love of justice and a benignity of disposition which attracted the affections of his followers. His methods of dealing with the disaffected soon dispelled any feeling of hostility to the representatives of the Crown, and so signally successful was he in his endeavours to establish peace and unity in the country, that he won the support of many leading chiefs before he had been in power more than a month. Nor was his rule purely one of peace, for he marched against and defeated the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, compelling them to pay tribute, to accept English law in their territory, and to learn English. The great chieftains Ormonde and Desmond did him homage, as did also O'Neill of Ulster, and it began to be rumoured in England that in but a short time "the wildest Irishman in Ireland would be sworn English". Richard's urbanity and diplomacy were such that, notwithstanding the fact that Ormonde was warmly attached to the Lancastrian cause, he invited the Earl, with the Earl of Desmond, to stand sponsors for a son who was born to him in Dublin, thus bringing rivals together in amity, while at the same time he revived the old Irish custom of "gossipred".

One of the crying grievances of Ireland was the long-standing and "damnable custom" of coyne and livery, of which it was said in an ancient treatise, quoted by Sir John Davies, "that though it were first invented in hell, yet if it had been used and practised there as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub". Finding that this custom was still adhered to, in violation of the Statute of Kilkenny, Richard summoned, in October, 1450, a Parliament by which these abuses were declared illegal by statute and punishable as felony. In another

Parliament, held at Drogheda, some further statutes were enacted, more especially to prevent grievances in the proceedings of law.

That Richard was not properly supported either with men or with money is proved by the fact that when MacGeoghegan of Westmeath entered the duke's lands and committed many depredations the Viceroy was, owing to his remittances not being duly paid by the English Treasury, unable to cope with the Irish chief, and had, therefore, to make a treaty with him to gain by it the peace he could not obtain by force of arms. In a letter written to England, urging that his stipulated allowance should be paid him, Richard declared that without the money he could not hold the country for the King, and begged that the money be forwarded speedily or he would leave the country, "for", he wrote, "it shall never be chronicled nor remain in writing, by the Grace of God, that Ireland was lost by my negligence". Rumours reaching him that his enemies in England were misrepresenting him to the King, Richard left Ireland in 1451, appointing, before he left, the newly created Earl of Wiltshire, a son of the Earl of Ormonde, his deputy.

Ormonde himself, though now old, was still wonderfully energetic, for at this time (1452) he marched into Cavan and compelled the O'Reillys to submit to him, and also subdued the MacMahons of Louth. Even the haughty O'Neill, when the old Earl invaded Tirowen, and demanded of him that he should be reconciled to his wife whom he had put away, consented to receive her. The Earl's interest in this matter arose from the fact that he and O'Neill were married to sisters, daughters of Donald McMurrough, King of Leinster. Having thus settled these matters, Ormonde marched back to Ardee, where, a few months later, he died. His son, as Earl of Wiltshire, had vast estates in England, and, being allied by marriage with the Duke of Somerset, and having in common with him a deep interest in the

Lancastrian cause, he repaired to London in 1453, leaving as his deputy John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh.

The absence of the Duke of York and the death of the fierce old Earl of Ormonde encouraged the chiefs of the north to be more turbulent than they had been of late years. The appointment of an ecclesiastic to be head of a government which required military abilities in its leader was viewed by them with contempt, and accordingly we find the chieftains of Tirconnell and Tirowen again engaged in active hostilities. The sept of O'Neill in particular showed itself jealous and impatient of English supremacy. They had won back by degrees nearly all the territory of which they had been deprived by England, and the claims of the Crown were regarded as a usurpation of that over-lordship which O'Neill had never relinquished. While they had gradually dispossessed the English colonists of several of the most valuable settlements in Ulster, they had never succeeded in sufficiently sinking their own differences to make a combined attack on them or form any scheme for a general insurrection. Temporary excursions and marauding expeditions they had frequently made; and now, having heard that some English vessels were sailing from the port of Dublin, they fitted out a strong fleet and attacking them in their passage, rifled them, took prisoners the passengers, among whom was the Archbishop of Dublin, and returned laden with spoil and exulting in their success. When news of this adventure reached Dublin, a force was quickly raised to subdue the audacious Northerners, and Ulster was invaded. O'Neill, supported by several of the lesser chiefs of the province, boldly marched to meet the invaders, and an engagement took place at Ardglass, in which, after an obstinate and sanguinary struggle, the northern leader was defeated.

Meanwhile the Wars of the Roses in England presented on a large scale a picture of all the horrors of war which,

in Ireland, we have seen in miniature. Richard, in his fight for the crown, had at the battle of St. Albans (1455) defeated his opponents and taken Henry VI prisoner. The King he released later, on condition that he should himself be Protector of England and Viceroy of Ireland. Four years later Richard was himself defeated at Ludlow (1459), and, being declared a traitor by the Lancastrians, he fled with his son, the Earl of Rutland, to Ireland, where his popularity ensured him a warm welcome.

With remarkable astuteness he summoned a Parliament in Dublin at which it was decreed that the Irish Parliament was independent of that of England, that no laws enacted in England could be enforced or were binding in Ireland, except such as had been freely accepted by the Irish Parliament; that no writs could be enforced in Ireland save those under the Great Seal of Ireland; and, finally, that it should be deemed high treason for any person, under any pretence whatever, to attack or disturb the Duke of York. This act was not long to lie dormant, for an agent of the Earl of Ormonde being sent from England with writs to apprehend York, the agent was seized, condemned, and executed. The supporters of Richard in England, meanwhile, were active in his interest, and his eldest son, the young Earl of March, aided by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, defeated the royal army in a hard-fought action at Northampton in July, 1460, and took the King prisoner. York now returned to England with an army of nearly 5000 strong, composed chiefly of Irishmen, and meeting a Lancastrian force of 20,000 at St. Albans was defeated and slain. His death was quickly avenged by his son, Edward, who, proving victorious at the battle of Towton Field—a battle the like of which had not been fought in England since that of Hastings—ascended the throne as Edward IV. At Towton (1461) the Earl of Wiltshire, son of the old Earl of Ormonde, was taken and beheaded.

As England during the Wars of the Roses continued to be a theatre of war, so Ireland remained the scene of never-ending conflict. In Ulster the constant waging of petty wars, plunderings, and raidings confined the range of men's thoughts to small issues. The enmity displayed by those who recognized one chief, towards those who acknowledged another, precluded the possibility of any adhesion or even the recognition of the fact of the unity of the race. Ireland was not alone in this, for England was at the time divided into two factions—the north and the south. In Ulster, at this time (1452), Naghtan O'Donnell, the powerful chief of Tirconnell, was killed by his nephews, Donnell and Hugh, sons of his brother, Nial Garv, whose position he had usurped, and Donnell usurped the lordship. His triumph was shortlived, for he was attacked by O'Dogherty of Innishowen, taken prisoner, and confined in a dungeon in the castle of Innis. Rory, son of Naghtan, now assailed the castle, and set it on fire. O'Dogherty, in his extremity, knowing the enmity existing between his prisoner and Rory, released Donnell, who, ascending to the battlements of the castle, watched his opportunity and flung a stone on the head of Rory, killing him instantly. Two years later brothers of the murdered Rory attacked and slew Donnell. From this total absence of law and order, it will be seen that Ulster remained completely independent, and was wholly Irish.

The Duke of York was the last royal Viceroy who actually held the sword. Others, though nominated, never came over. The title of Lord-Lieutenant was, as a rule, only bestowed upon royal personages. It was several times bestowed upon children, and in one case upon an infant in arms. The power remained in the hands of the various great nobles, who acted as Deputies or as Lords Justices. Thus, when Edward IV conferred the title of Lord-Lieutenant on his infant son, Richard, Duke of York; Gerald, Earl of Kildare, was Lord Deputy. Kildare had greater weight and

favour with the native Irish than had even the Earl of Desmond or of Ormonde. His influence arose in a great measure from the fact that his sister was married to Henry O'Neill of Tirowen, and one of his daughters to Conn O'Neill, a son of the Chieftain of Ulster. He had, besides, strengthened his position by other alliances, his son being married to a daughter of King O'Conor of Offaly, and two daughters wedded to Irish chiefs—one to MacCarthy of Carbery, the other to Burke of Clanrickard. Conn O'Neill was, through Kildare's influence, declared by Act of Parliament to be a liege subject of the King, and was completely invested with all the rights annexed to such a position—a triumph of diplomacy by which Ulster for a time became subject to the King.

CHAPTER XV

The New Legislation

The Solitariness of Ulster—The O'Neills and O'Donnells ignore Simnel—Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare—His Alliances with Ulster Chiefs—Poynings' Arrival—His March into Ulster—Parliament at Drogheda passes Poynings' Act—Turlough O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnell—Battle of Knockdoe—Death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell—The Polite Letter Writer!

The strange manner in which Ulster kept aloof while disturbances of all kinds took place in other parts of Ireland has already been commented upon. She was, as has been stated, preoccupied with her own affairs, and upheavals in the other provinces did not disturb her, unless her own borders were invaded or an attempt made to interfere with the tenor of her way. Lord-Lieutenants and Lords Justices might come and go, she was indifferent; even kings might follow each other in rapid succession without the O'Neill or the O'Donnell taking any cognizance of the fact. Thus, in the reign of Edward IV, the Wars of the Roses and the accession of Richard III made little or no impression on the chieftains of Tirowen and Tirconnell, who continued to wage war on each other, unconcerned as to what events were taking place in either Dublin or London. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the defeat and death of Richard III and the triumph of Henry VII were matters of no moment to either the O'Neill or the O'Donnell. Even the advent of that claimant to the earldom of Warwick and to the throne of England, the pretender, Lambert Simnel, who was welcomed with ardour in Dublin, received by Kildare,

the deputy, and crowned king by the Bishop of Meath, made no impression on Ulster. The Archbishop of Armagh refused to countenance the impostor, although the Archbishop of Dublin, the Prior of Kilmainham, and, as we have seen, the Bishop of Meath, supported him. Henry O'Neill also, though allied by marriage with the Lord Deputy, remained inactive. One would have imagined that when Kildare headed an insurrection, O'Neill would, as his brother-in-law, have joined him, with Conn O'Neill (afterwards created Earl of Tirowen), the Deputy's son-in-law. But in this rebellion Ulster remained a thing apart. This is all the more unaccountable when we remember that the Lord Deputy, called by his own following Geroit Mor, or Gerald the Great, was perhaps the most important chief governor who ruled Ireland upon thoroughgoing Irish principles. He possessed a fascinating personality, being "a mighty man of stature, full of honour and courage", and his hasty espousal of Simnel's cause is accounted for by his being "soone hotte and soone cold", as well as by his displaying a "headye carelessness", which might, but for his alliances with powerful Irish chieftains, have led, as they nearly did in his recognition of Lambert Simnel, to his own undoing.

The King became suspicious of Kildare's equivocal conduct; and when a fresh claimant to the crown appeared in the person of that creature of the Duchess of Burgundy, Perkin Warbeck, Henry, remembering Kildare's encouragement of Simnel, and the Yorkist proclivities of the family of the Geraldines, summoned him to London, ostensibly to consult with him on Irish affairs, but most probably to hold him in check. Kildare excused himself from attendance on the King, sending at the same time profuse protestations of his loyalty. In 1492 some family squabbles in which the Lord Deputy interfered, gave Henry an excuse to dismiss him from office, and Walter FitzSimon, Archbishop of Dublin, was appointed his successor.

Native Viceroys proving failures, Henry now bestowed on his second son, Henry, Duke of York, the title of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and appointed as Lord Deputy Sir Edward Poynings, a Knight of the Garter and Privy Councillor. He arrived (1494) accompanied by a force of 1000 men-at-arms, and five or six English lawyers, who were appointed to fill the places of Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and other offices from which the occupiers, most of whom had been concerned either in the Simnel or Warbeck rising, were summarily ejected. Poynings' avowed intention was to thrust back the native Irish; his real object was to crush the adherents of Warbeck. With this purpose in view he marched, with Kildare in his train, against O'Donnell of Tirconnell, who, it was said, was in league with the King of Scotland. Not long before this, in an inroad by Hugh Oge MacMahon and John O'Reilly, sixty Anglo-Irishmen of good social standing had been killed and many taken prisoners; but on the Deputy's approach the Irish chiefs retreated to their mountain fastnesses, and Poynings, finding no enemy to attack, laid waste their lands. A report was then spread that the Earl of Kildare was conspiring with O'Hanlon and Magennis, Ulster chieftains, to cut off the Lord Deputy, and news arrived that the Earl's brother had seized the castle of Carlow and raised the Yorkist flag. Under these circumstances Sir Edward made peace on any terms with O'Hanlon and Magennis, into whose territory he had entered, and, returning to the south, recovered possession of Carlow Castle after a siege of ten days.

In the month of November, 1495, was held at Drogheda the memorable Parliament at which the famous statute called after the Lord Deputy—Poynings' Law—was passed. This Act was long a rock of offence, and is even still a prominent feature in Irish political controversy. By this Parliament it was enacted that all the statutes lately made in England affecting the public weal should be good and effectual in Ireland;

the hated Statute of Kilkenny was confirmed, with the exception of the provisions relating to the use of the Irish language and the non-use of saddles, both of which practices had become so universal that it was thought to be hopeless to forbid them; laws were framed for the defence of the marches; it was made a felony to permit "enemies or rebels" to pass through these border lands; the general use of bows and arrows was enjoined, and the war-cries which some of the great English families had adopted in imitation of the Irish were strictly forbidden. The old law called the Statute of Henry Fitz-Empress (Henry II), which enabled the Council to elect a Lord Deputy on the office becoming suddenly vacant by death, was repealed, and it was enacted that the government should in such a case be entrusted to the Lord Treasurer until a successor could be appointed by the King. But the particular statute known as Poynings' Act was one which provided that henceforth no Parliament should be held in Ireland until the Chief Governor and Council had first certified to the king, under the Great Seal, "as well the causes and considerations, as the Act they designed to pass, and till the same should be approved by the King and Council". This, as will be seen, practically reduced the Irish Parliament to a mere court for registering laws already passed elsewhere, passed too often without the smallest regard to the special requirements of the country for which they purported to be framed. The Act virtually made the Irish Parliament a nullity; and when, later, it came to affect, not merely the English Pale, for which it was originally framed, but the whole of Ireland when brought under English law, it was felt to be one of the most intolerable grievances under which the country suffered.

By this same Parliament Kildare was attainted on the ground of conspiracy. The charges appear to have been founded on mere suspicion, but the Earl was sent to England and detained there a prisoner for twelve months. He was

then brought to trial, and allowed to plead his cause in the King's presence. His blunt boldness seems to have disarmed Henry's suspicions, and he was sent back to Ireland as Lord Deputy. This turning of a poacher into a keeper was a bold stroke on the King's part, and proved a most successful policy.

Kildare, it will be remembered, was connected by marriage with Conn O'Neill of Ulster, in which province war had been raging since 1491. In 1493 Tirowen was laid waste by a contest for the succession among the O'Neills themselves, and in a sanguinary battle at Glasdrummond Conn O'Neill triumphed over his opponent Donnell O'Neill. Then Hugh Roe O'Donnell of Tirconnell, with a large army, marched into Tirowen, and after a furious encounter with Henry Oge O'Neill, at Beanna Boirche in the beautiful Mountains of Mourne, returned home victorious. In 1495 O'Donnell visited the King of Scotland, and was received with great honours. In the Scottish accounts he is called the Great O'Donnell, but nothing certain is known of the object of his visit. On his return, in the same year, he attacked O'Conor Roe at Sligo, but raised the siege of that town on the approach of MacWilliam (de Burgh) of Clanrickard. In 1497, disgusted with the dissensions between his sons, Hugh Roe O'Donnell resigned the lordship of Tirconnell, which was then assumed by his son Conn; but his second son, Hugh Oge, would not consent to this arrangement, and got some of the Burkes to assist him with a fleet. Conn was defeated in a battle, but two days after he succeeded in capturing his brother Hugh, and sent him to be imprisoned in the Castle of Conmaicne Cuile. Conn now invaded Moylurg, but was defeated with terrible slaughter by MacDermot in the Pass of Ballaghboy in the Curlieu Mountains; the famous Cathach (or reliquary) which the O'Donnells always carried before them into battle being among the spoils which he lost on the occasion. Conn's misfortunes did not terminate here. Henry Oge

Photo. Moore, Dublin

THE CATHACH

The jewelled front of the famous reliquary taken by MacDermot from the O'Donnells at the battle in the Pass of Ballaghboy. The Cathach, which now belongs to E. Thomas O'Donel, Esq., D.L., is in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

O'Neill judged the opportunity a favourable one to avenge the defeat he had recently received from Hugh Roe, and led an army into Tirconnell. He first laid waste the land of Fanad, and in a battle with Conn O'Donnell he routed the forces of that turbulent and ambitious young chief and slew him. Hugh Roe now resumed the lordship, and his son Hugh Oge, being liberated, at first declined the chieftaincy offered to him by his father, but later agreed to rule jointly with him. In 1498 the Lord Deputy, at the instance of his nephew, Turlough O'Neill, and of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, an ally of Turlough's, marched north and took the castle of Dungannon with the aid of ordnance, the use of which had been introduced into Ireland ten years earlier. A great friendship seems to have sprung up between Kildare and Hugh Roe, for in 1499 the earl was visited by the northern chief, and in the following year Hugh Roe O'Donnell and the Lord Deputy co-operated against John Boy O'Neill, from whom they took the castle of Kinard, or Caledon, which was then handed over to Turlough O'Neill.

The Lord Deputy, who, since his London experience, had remained loyal to Henry, now used his great office to further his own ends. One of his daughters being married to De Burgh, first Earl of Clanrickard, and being treated by her husband in a manner that did not please him, he "swore to be revenged upon the Irishman and all his partakers". Accordingly he got together a mighty host, collected chiefly from the north, and declared war on his son-in-law. He was joined by Hugh Roe O'Donnell and his son, and the other chiefs of Cinel Connel; the warlike chiefs Magennis, MacMahon, and O'Hanlon; O'Reilly; and in fact by the forces of nearly all Leath-Chuinn, or the northern half of Ireland. O'Neill alone held aloof, no doubt piqued at the friendship shown by Kildare towards O'Donnell, and possibly reluctant to fight side by side with his old antagonist of Tirconnell. A sanguinary battle took place at Knockdoe, near

Galway (1504), in which Kildare was the victor, his opponent losing, it is said, nearly 2000 men.

From this battle we may date the first revival of the English power in Ireland, which from the time of the Scottish invasion under Edward Bruce had gradually declined into a miserable and precarious state of weakness. The battle also displayed the assumption of new vigour on the part of the executive, and sent forth a warning note that the days of English impotence were drawing to a close.

The only event of interest in connection with Ulster at this time was the death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, which took place in 1505, in the seventy-eighth year of his age and the forty-fourth of his reign over Tirconnell. He was a son of the celebrated Niall Garv O'Donnell, and was one of a long line of heroes. "In his time", say the annalists, "there was no need of defence for the houses in Tirconnell, except to close the doors against the wind." It was during his reign that O'Neill demanded tribute of O'Donnell in the following laconic fashion: "Send me tribute, or else——" The answer was expressed with the same princely brevity. "I owe you none, and if I did——" Evidently notes of exclamation were not required to embellish such epistolary communications.

CHAPTER XVI

Progress of Ulster

Accession of Henry VIII—O'Donnell visits James IV of Scotland—Death of Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare—Earl of Surrey Lord-Lieutenant—O'Neill submits to the King—Battle of Knockavoe—Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, Lord Deputy—Duke of Richmond Lord-Lieutenant—Nial Oge O'Neill—Sir William Skeffington Lord Deputy—John Allen Archbishop of Dublin—Kildare reappointed.

The accession of Henry VIII had no immediate effect on Ireland. The Earl of Kildare was continued as Lord Deputy, as the theory that he alone could carry on the government of the country had by this time become firmly established. No one in Ireland could withstand the Great Gerald; he still carried on his forays against various Irish septs, acting with his usual vigour in repelling insurgents, quieting commotions, and deciding contests in different quarters. He frequently, it must be admitted, confused the duties of Kildare the Viceroy with the desires of Kildare in his private capacity, and, as we have seen, made use of his great office to further his own interests. In 1510, after an expedition against the MacCarthys of Munster, he was joined by Hugh Oge O'Donnell, Lord of Tirconnell, the son of his old ally, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, with a small but efficient body of troops, and proceeded to cross the Shannon in order to attack O'Brien of Thomond, as a preliminary to finally subduing "that Irishman", Burke of Clanrickard. Burke, however, was anxious to avenge Knockdoe, and joined O'Brien; whereupon Kildare retreated towards Limerick, near which a battle

took place in which the Lord Deputy was defeated with great loss, and his troops, being hotly pursued by the enemy, were saved from extinction solely by the skill with which O'Donnell and his men defended the rear of the army.

In 1512 O'Donnell, who had spent the previous year in a pilgrimage to Rome, and had been engaged since his return in making reprisals on O'Neill for depredations committed by him in Tirconnell during his absence, renewed the friendly relations with Kildare which, no doubt, had been disturbed by these hostilities. The Earl, possibly on the invitation of O'Donnell, now marched north, and, entering Clanaboy, took the castle of Belfast and other strongholds, and devastated the lands of the MacDonalds of Antrim. O'Donnell, the year following, visited Scotland on the invitation of James IV, who, during the three months that he stayed at his Court, treated him with great honour; and it is said that O'Donnell "changed the king's resolution of coming to Ireland as he had intended". From this we may surmise that James meditated an invasion, from which he was deterred by O'Donnell's advice.

Geroit Mor, "the valorous and princely", died in 1513 at Athy, and was succeeded by his son, Gerald, the ninth earl, whom the privy council at Dublin elected immediately on his father's death, he being shortly afterwards appointed by letters patent from the Crown. He inherited all his father's popularity with the Irish, and for several years was, like him, at once a necessity and a source of anxiety to the Government in England. He began his career as Viceroy with a series of energetic proceedings against the Irish chiefs, but he had no easy task to keep them in subjection, and rumours being spread that he was in league with O'Neill greatly increased the difficulties of his administration.

The annals of this period are meagre in their information with regard to Ulster, and it is therefore interesting to learn that a peace was concluded between the Cinel Connel and

the Cinel Owen in 1514. Art, a son of Conn O'Neill, and Hugh Oge O'Donnell met at Ardsratha in Tirowen, each at the head of a large army, but separated in peace; an event so extraordinary that the annalists attribute the fortunate issue to the interposition of heaven. The chiefs of Tirconnell had wrested very large territories from the O'Neills, and by the treaty made on this occasion the charters by which O'Donnell claimed sovereignty over Innishowen, Fermanagh, and other tracts of country, formerly belonging to the Cinel Owen, were confirmed.

This peace, alas! was of but short duration, for in 1517, at the invitation of his kinsmen the O'Neills, who were, as usual, fighting amongst themselves, the young Earl of Kildare led an army into Tirowen, and, having retaken the castle of Dundrum, in Lecale, from which the English had been expelled, and vanquished the MacGennises, he proceeded to devastate Tirowen, and captured and burned the fort of Dungannon.

Kildare now repaired to London to defend himself on account of the many charges which had been brought against him, and returned (1515) triumphant, being confirmed in his office of Lord Deputy. Like his father, he had, during his sojourn in England, married an Englishwoman, Elizabeth, daughter of the Marquis of Dorset. Kildare's enemies seem to have been chiefly composed of members of his own family. His stepmother had accused him of being partial to the great O'Neill, and of having voted him a tribute out of her lands; and now the Earl of Ormonde, who was married to Kildare's sister, took an early opportunity to charge him with being in secret league with the Irish. Ormonde had the ear of the great Wolsey, who hated the Geraldines, and who therefore listened with much satisfaction to tales accusing the Lord Deputy of "seditious practices, conspiracies, and subtle drifts". As a result, Kildare was dismissed from office, and had again to repair to England to defend himself,

while Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, the victor of Flodden Field, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant (1520).

Surrey, of all living Englishmen, combined in the highest degree the necessary qualities of soldier and statesman. He landed, accompanied by a force of 1000 men and 100 of the King's guard, and he was not long in Ireland until he exhibited that energy and skill which he had displayed on the field of Flodden. The whole country broke into simultaneous rebellion, the result of preconcerted plans to which some intercepted letters bear ample evidence. The Viceroy lost no time. He first marched north and attacked MacMahon's district of Oriel, laying it waste, and compelling its chief to submit. Conn O'Neill, deeming it unwise to meet Surrey in the open, took to the mountains, whither he could not be followed, and the Viceroy, after a fruitless quest for the elusive foe, returned to Dublin. A little later O'Neill himself repaired to Dublin and formally submitted. The King, on being informed of this act of submission and of O'Neill's professions of loyalty, empowered and directed Surrey to confer knighthood on well-affected northern chieftains, and sent O'Neill a collar of gold.

O'Donnell is said to have waited on Surrey in Dublin at this time, and to have told him that he had been invited by O'Neill to take up arms against the English Government at the suggestion of the Earl of Kildare. This circumstance was referred to by the Viceroy in a letter to the king, in which he states that he finds O'Donnell "a right wise man, and as well determyned to doo to your Grace all things that may be to your contentacion and pleasure as I can wysh him to bee". O'Donnell must not be considered on account of this action to have anticipated the age of Irish informers on their fellow-countrymen. He acted in the true spirit of an Irish chief, whose sole object in life appeared to be to injure a rival. In this desire, it should be remembered, the Irish chieftains were encouraged by successive representatives of the Crown.

Surrey himself preferred to allow O'Donnell to employ Scottish auxiliaries rather than have peace between him and O'Neill, and he expresses his sentiments in a letter to Henry in which he writes regarding possible amity between the hostile chiefs: "It would be dangerful to have them both agreed and joined together, for the longer they continue in war, the better it should be for your Grace's poor subjects here". Surrey at length became sick of the never-ending warfare and the hopeless outlook in Ireland, and resigned in 1521, the Earl of Ormonde being appointed Lord Deputy.

The dissensions between O'Neill and O'Donnell now broke out into a sanguinary war. The Earl of Clanrickard, with the English and Irish of Connaught, the O'Briens, O'Kennedys, and O'Carrolls, joined the standard of O'Neill, under which rallied besides the MacGennises, the men of Oriel and Fermanagh, the O'Reillys, and other northern septs, together with a Scottish legion under Alexander MacDonald of the Isles. Several of the English of Meath and Leinster were also induced by their attachment to the Earl of Kildare, the kinsman of O'Neill, to take part with the latter. Under O'Donnell's banners were ranged the O'Boyles, O'Doghertys, MacSweeneys, and O'Gallaghers—by no means so formidable an array as O'Neill's. O'Donnell marched to Port-na-dtri-namhaid (the port of the three enemies), on the eastern bank of the River Foyle, opposite Lifford, to await the enemy, this being the usual pass to enter Tirconnell from Tirowen; but O'Neill entered by another route, and laid waste the country as far as Ballyshannon. O'Donnell, hearing this, sent his son Manus into Tirowen, while he himself followed O'Neill into Tirhugh; but O'Neill retired into his own territory, and encamped at Cnoc-Buidhbh, or Knockavoe, near Strabane, where he was attacked by night by O'Donnell's army, which had approached so silently that they were able to rush into the Tirowen camp as the sentinels gave the alarm, and a total

rout of O'Neill's forces followed, with a loss of nearly 900 men. This was said to be one of the most sanguinary engagements ever fought by the Cinel Owen and Cinel Connel.

Meanwhile Ormonde, as Lord Deputy, had proved a failure, while Kildare, in spite of his intercepted letters, had been winning his way into favour, and had accompanied King Henry to the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold. He now returned to Ireland, and was reappointed Deputy (1524), Ormonde being superseded. Kildare's triumph naturally elated Conn O'Neill, who now affected entire attachment to the throne, and, attending on the Lord Deputy at Dublin on his inauguration, he bore before him to St. Thomas's Abbey the Sword of State. Kildare now accompanied O'Neill on an expedition against O'Donnell, who had committed fearful depredations in Tirowen, and succeeded in making peace between the rival chieftains. Two years later (1526) O'Neill and O'Donnell were invited by the Lord Deputy to attend a meeting of nobles in Dublin for the purpose of settling, if possible, the subjects of dispute between them. Hugh O'Donnell was represented on the occasion by his son Manus, but all arguments for peace were unavailing, and the northern chiefs returned home to muster fresh forces to combat each other.

During this period the relations between England and France were strained, and Francis I, in order to divert the activities of Henry from the Continent to home affairs, opened negotiations with the Earl of Desmond, holding out to him the prospect of a French descent on Ireland. Desmond responded readily; and information with regard to his treasonable conduct being conveyed to Ormonde, it was by him transmitted to Wolsey, with the result that the Lord Deputy received peremptory orders to proceed to Munster and arrest as a traitor the offending Earl. Kildare set forth on his mission without delay, but Desmond managed to elude him,

and he returned without being able to carry out his orders. He was then accused of being in collusion with the traitor, and had to proceed to London (1526) to answer an impeachment charging him with (1) failing to apprehend the Earl of Desmond; (2) forming alliances with several of the King's enemies; (3) causing certain loyal subjects to be hanged because they were dependents of the Butlers; and (4) confederating with O'Neill, O'Conor, and other Irish lords to invade the territories of the Earl of Ormonde. The enmity of Wolsey is said to have been at the bottom of these persecutions; but Kildare's good fortune had not yet deserted him, and, after an imprisonment in the Tower, he was liberated on the fall of Wolsey, and, the Duke of Richmond being given the title of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1529), with Sir William Skeffington as Lord Deputy, Kildare was sent over with the latter as his adviser, and within two years superseded him.

While Skeffington was Lord Deputy, Kildare co-operated with him on fairly amicable terms. At the instance of O'Donnell and Niall Oge O'Neill they invaded Tirowen, which they laid waste with fire and sword, and the whole population of Monaghan fled before them, leaving the country a desert. While Skeffington, with the Anglo-Irish, advanced from one point, their Irish confederates approached from another; and they razed the castle of Caledon, and might have done much more damage in the district but that they were checked at this point by a very strong muster of the men of Tirowen.

When the position of Lord Deputy was restored to Kildare, John Alen, a former chaplain to Wolsey, was appointed Archbishop of Dublin, and Chancellor, with private orders to keep a watch upon the Earl and report his proceedings to the English Council. Alen, alas! had ere long a very grave report to place before the King.

CHAPTER XVII

The Geraldine Revolt

Henry VIII and his Views on Ireland—Conn O'Neill and John FitzGerald—Leagues of Desolation—O'Donnell's Treaty with England—Kildare superseded—The Rebellion of Lord Offaly; "Silken Thomas"—Murder of Alen—Skeffington reappointed—Manus O'Donnell's Friendship with Conn O'Neill—Battle of Lake Bellahoe.

King Henry VIII started, as so many before had done, and have done since, full of confidence and of hope that just measures and firm government would speedily ameliorate the condition of Ireland. That he gave the subject his careful consideration we have evidence in the instructions he gave to the Earl of Surrey on his appointment as Lord Deputy. The young King, pondering over affairs in Ireland, evidently came to the conclusion that a lack of unity among the Irish chiefs had much to do with the perturbed state of the country, and he accordingly instructed Surrey to call together as many of the native chiefs as would attend, and confer with them on the subject. Alas, for the bright hopes of youth and the sanguine spirit of ignorance! Henry might as well have called a conference of Kilkenny cats!

"We deem it expedient", he wrote, "that when ye shall call the lords and other captains of that our land before you, as of good congruence, ye must needs so do; ye, after and among other overtures, by your wisdom then to be made, shall declare unto them the great decay, ruin, and desolation of that commodious and fertile land, for lack of politic governance and good justice; which can never be brought in order unless the unbridled sensualities of insolent folk be brought

under the rules of the laws. For realms without justice be but tyrannies and robberies, more consonant to beastly appetites than to the laudable life of reasonable creatures. And whereas wilfulness doth reign by strength, without law or justice, there is no distinction of propriety in dominion; ne yet any man may say, this is mine; but by strength the weaker is subdued and oppressed, which is contrary to all laws, both of God and man. . . . Howbeit, our mind is, not that ye shall impress on them any opinion by fearful words, that we intend to expel them from their lands and dominions lawfully possessed; ne yet that we be minded to constrain them precisely to obey our laws, ministered by our justices there; but under good manner to show unto them, that of necessity it is requisite that every reasonable creature be governed by *a* law. And therefore, if they shall allege that our laws, there used, be too extreme and rigorous; and that it should be very hard for them to observe the same; then ye may further ensearch of them under what manner, and by what laws, they will be ordered and governed, to the intent that, if their laws be good and reasonable, they may be approved; and the rigour of our laws, if they shall think them too hard, be mitigated and brought to such a moderation as they may conveniently live under the same. By which means ye shall finally induce them, of necessity, to conform their order of living to the observance of some reasonable law, and not to live at will, as they have used heretofore."

Such were the true, wise, and generous dictates of Henry. Surrey was, however, precluded from carrying his instructions into effect by the fact that no sooner had he landed than the whole country was up in arms against him. As we have seen, he asked for and obtained his recall, and now we find the country again under the rule of Kildare, the very man who had been dismissed from office and whom Surrey had been sent to supersede.

Kildare, on his reappointment, seems to have lost his

head. Freed by the downfall of Wolsey from a powerful enemy, he began to quarrel with Skeffington, whom he succeeded in ousting, and he then turned his attention to Alen, the Lord Chancellor, whom he summarily dismissed, appointing in his place a friend of his family, Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh. He then attacked the Earl of Ossory, destroying his castles and ravaging his lands around Kilkenny, carrying off large spoils. At the siege of Birr Castle the Earl received a ball in the left side, which was extracted from the opposite side in the following year, and it is said he never fully recovered from this wound. About this time Conn O'Neill, at his instigation, and assisted by John FitzGerald, Kildare's brother, plundered the English districts in Louth.

Such was the state of affairs during Kildare's last term of office. The King's Deputy was as lawless as any chief of the time, and apparently could be lawless with impunity. The utter desolation caused by these raidings and burnings left huge tracts of country uninhabited. In a letter written at this period a picture is drawn of "a land that is lonelier than ruin". "Some day", the writer says, "we rode sixteen miles of waste land, the which was Englishmen's ground, yet saw I never so goodly woods, so goodly meadows, so goodly pastures, and so goodly rivers, and so goodly ground to bear corn: and where the ridges were that hath borne corn, to my thinking there was no beast did eat it, not this twelve year, and it was the most part such waste all our journey."

Kildare, recognizing the fact that he could not rely on the support of England in his high-handed dealings, determined to strengthen his position still further by alliances with Irish chiefs, and accordingly he gave a daughter in marriage to O'Carroll of Ely and another to O'Carroll of Offaly. The Earl's friendship with his kinsman, Conn O'Neill of Tirowen, had proved so disastrous to O'Donnell of Tirconnell that he determined to come to terms with the Crown without the intervention of the Lord Deputy. The Annalists

state that he was "a man who did not suffer the power of the English to come into his country, for he formed a league of peace and friendship with the King of England when he saw the Irish would not yield superiority to anyone among themselves, but that friends and blood-relations contended against each other". Two of his sons, Niall Garv and Owen, slew each other in a domestic feud in 1524; and the enmity between his two remaining sons, Hugh Boy and Manus, was such that in 1531 he was obliged to call in the aid of Maguire to stop their strife. On that occasion Manus, the young brother, was compelled to fly, and entered into alliance with Conn O'Neill, showing him to be decidedly hostile to the English. In consequence the popularity of Manus became very great, and on the death of his father, in 1537, he was unanimously chosen his successor.

The many enemies whom the Lord Deputy had made of late—Alen, Ossory, Skeffington, Ormonde, and others—now determined on his downfall. The ex-Archbishop of Dublin, and a possible kinsman named Alen also, sent long and lucid reports on the conduct of Kildare to the King. The reports stated, amongst other things, that the English laws, manners, and language were confined within the narrow compass of twenty miles, and that unless the laws were duly enforced the "little place", as the Pale was termed, would be reduced to the same condition as the remainder of the kingdom. It was also stated that the exactions and oppressions practised on the inhabitants loyal to England had driven many from the land, and that their lands were occupied by Irish enemies. The reports wound up with an entreaty to the King to entrust the charge of his Irish government to some loyal subject sent from his realm of England, whose sole object should be the honour and interest of the Crown, unconnected with Irish factions, and uninfluenced by partial favour or aversion.

The gravity of this application, coupled with the complaints of Skeffington, roused the anger of Henry, and he

naturally fixed on the Lord Deputy as the proper object of his resentment, even on those points which were not directly charged as his particular misdemeanours, and Kildare therefore received a peremptory mandate to at once proceed to England to answer for his conduct. The Earl, conscious of his own irregularities, and sensible that he was in great danger, endeavoured in every way to evade the order and gain time. He pleaded the situation of his Government, and insurrections of the Irish, and while he delayed his visit to England he sent his wife over to use her influence with her powerful friends on his behalf. In the meantime he furnished his castles with arms and ammunition from the armoury in Dublin, and left them in the custody of dependents whom he could trust. Having by these delays gained some three months in which to settle his own affairs, he embarked at Drogheda, in February, 1534, appointing, before his departure, his son, Thomas, Lord Offaly, who was not yet twenty-one years old, to act as deputy in his absence. On his arrival in London he was arrested by the King's order, and committed to the Tower.

Kildare had been directed by Henry VIII to appoint some one on whom he could rely to act as his deputy. No doubt his appointment of his son was done under compulsion. There were few indeed on whom the Earl could place any reliance, and his appointment of his youthful son, who was known as Silken Thomas on account of his love of dress, was a grave error of judgment. Kildare seems to have had some misgivings at thus putting "a naked sword into a young man's hand", and on parting with his son he bade him to be ruled by the Privy Council, "whose wisdom will be able to restrain you with sound and sage advice, for though in authority you rule them, they in Council must rule you". This good advice Offaly might have endeavoured to profit by and act on, had he not been blinded by his own trustful nature, and allowed impetuosity rather than prudence to

guide his actions. His father's enemies resolved to take advantage of his innocence and credulity; and, skilfully spreading abroad a report that Kildare had been executed and Skeffington appointed his successor, they succeeded in rousing in the young Vice-Deputy such a spirit of rebellion and a thirst for revenge that, without making any attempt to verify the statements made, he, in a fit of frenzy at the supposed treachery of Henry, entered the Council chamber, and, flinging the Sword of State on the table, declared that he was no longer a servant of the King but his foe, adding a diatribe on Henry's conduct, as a monarch and a man, which contained such foul terms that Campion tells us he "has no mind" to chronicle them.

It is not necessary in a history of Ulster to follow the story of Silken Thomas's rebellion in detail, but the knowledge of some facts in connection with it are necessary in order to secure a clear understanding of subsequent events.

Offaly's first move, after gathering together his retainers and being joined by a large body of malcontents, was to demand the submission of Dublin. This was speedily granted, as not alone were the citizens unprepared for such hostilities, but they were further incapacitated for active resistance by a recent visitation of the plague; the officials, however, took refuge in the castle, among them being Alen the Archbishop. Offaly now laid waste the surrounding country, and Alen, taking advantage of his absence, attempted to escape, but was seized and brought before Lord Thomas, from whom he begged on his knees for mercy. The Archbishop had been active in hostility to the Geraldines; but it is not likely that Offaly wished to be revenged on an old and helpless man, and we may therefore believe that the command given by him was "Take from me that clown!" but words spoken in the heat of passion are apt to be misunderstood, and the mandate of Offaly was followed by the immediate murder of Alen. This did not improve the cause Offaly

had at heart. His cousin, Lord James Butler, to whom he appealed for assistance, turned from him, saying: "In this quarrel I had rather die thine enemy than live thy partner". Offaly retorted by entering Butler's territory and wasting it by fire and sword. He then again turned towards Dublin, where he had left a portion of his forces besieging the castle, and found to his consternation that the citizens of Dublin had closed the gates of the city, and had thus imprisoned the besiegers. Finding it impossible to capture the city, he raised the siege.

Long-delayed reinforcements now arrived from England, under the command of Sir William Brereton. With them came Sir William Skeffington, to whose ill-health and sluggish movements great delays were due. All the winter he lay idle, determined if there was no glory for him in the campaign his officers should have no opportunity to earn any. In the spring of 1535 he attacked the Kildares' stronghold at Maynooth. The siege lasted nine days, and in the end the castle was taken by assault; twenty-six of the garrison were taken prisoners, and two days later their heads adorned the turrets.

In the meantime Kildare, ignorant of the fate of the besieged, was hastening to the relief of his fortress with a large army drawn from the provinces of Ulster and Connaught. It is stated that this force numbered nearly 7000 men, but no sooner did they learn of the taking of the castle and the summary executions which followed than they deserted in large numbers, disappearing like snow in a sudden thaw. Kildare was now a fugitive, and took refuge with O'Brien in Thomond, and after fruitless efforts to regain his ground he submitted to Lord Leonard Gray, and was sent to the Tower, in which his father had expired a few months previously. Here he was imprisoned until 3rd February, 1537, when he was executed; and thus ended the rebellion of Silken Thomas. With Kildare, five of his

uncles were also executed, and the sole representative left of the once-powerful family was a boy of twelve named Gerald, left in the care of his aunt, Eleanor, who had been married to MacCarthy Reagh, the Chief of Carberry. She was now a widow, and receiving at this time an offer of marriage from Manus O'Donnell of Tirconnell, she accepted, and, so great and universal was the loyalty to the house of Kildare, she passed in safety with her nephew from the south to the north of Ireland. O'Neill, O'Donnell, and other northern chieftains formed a confederacy for the restoration of young Gerald to his estates; and when Lord Gray, who had been appointed Lord Deputy, sought to treat with them for the surrender of the lad, they refused to meet him. The consequence was a hostile inroad by Lord Gray into Tirowen. The castle of Dungannon was taken, and the surrounding country was for six days abandoned to pillage and devastation.

Through the influence of O'Donnell's wife, O'Neill and O'Donnell now formed an alliance, and were for the first time in history on terms of genuine friendship. In August, 1539, they together attacked the Pale, marching, as pre-arranged, by different routes, and joining forces in Westmeath. The Lord Deputy, though unprepared, hastily gathered together, out of Dublin and Drogheda, as strong a force as he could, and marched to meet the invaders, who had already burnt the towns of Navan and Ardee, and devastated the surrounding territory. The greed of the mercenaries, who began to disperse with their booty, reduced the northern army so considerably that Gray won an easy victory (1539) at Lake Bellahoe, on the border of Meath and Monaghan. This battle proved to be a turning-point in Anglo-Irish history, for O'Neill's defeat meant that the power of the Ulster chiefs was broken, and that led to a general submission on their part two years later.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Submission of Ulster

King Henry's Policy—Lord Gray superseded—Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord Deputy—O'Donnell addresses the King—His Submission—St. Leger's Attack on O'Neill—His Journey into Tirowen—O'Neill the last to submit—Asks to be made Earl of Ulster—Is refused and created Earl of Tyrone—Introduction of Protestantism into Ulster.

With the fall of the FitzGeralds, the victory of Bellahoe, and the vigorous rule of Lord Leonard Gray, whose progress through the south was as triumphant as it had been in the north, Ireland felt herself in the grip of a master's hand. "Irishmen", wrote one of the Lords Justices to Thomas Cromwell, "were never in such fear as now." Not only were the Englishmen of the Pale at Henry's feet, but the power of the Crown was acknowledged through the length and breadth of the land.

Henry's desire, however, was, as we have seen in his wise and generous directions to Surrey, not so much to conquer the country as to civilize it when conquered. The King's standard of civilization was the English standard, and Irish ideas and Irish methods he dismissed as not only unworthy of consideration, but as being relics of the barbarism which he was anxious to eradicate. Accordingly English statesmen set themselves to the task of destroying the whole Celtic tradition of the Irish people, and substituting for it rules and regulations by the enforcement of which they fondly hoped to succeed in "making Ireland English", in manners, in law, and in tongue.

The King, it will be remembered, in his instructions to Surrey, directed him to call together the Irish chieftains, or as many as he could succeed in getting together, and then expatiate to them upon the elementary principles of social order and government. This scheme Henry appears to have never lost sight of, and he resolved, now that he had proved to the Irish chieftains the power of England, they should be impressed by the urbanity she displayed as the victor. He cherished the hope that in time, by the exercise of a wise patience, he would win over the Irish chiefs, and, by combining friendliness with firm rule, gradually reform the country. Recognizing that in the tribal system of land tenure lay the source of many of Ireland's miseries, he resolved to allay any fears the chiefs might entertain that the Crown had any purpose to "expel them from their lands and dominions lawfully possessed", by giving them an undertaking "to conserve them as their own". The introduction of English law, against which they had remonstrated, was reconsidered, with the result that the course of justice was enforced or mitigated according to the circumstances of the country. In short, "sober ways, politic shifts, and amiable persuasions" were enjoined, and were so thoroughly carried out that chieftain after chieftain was won over in an incredibly short space of time, considering the centuries which had been devoted to a hopeless and futile policy of coercion.

In 1540 Lord Leonard Gray was recalled to England, and Sir William Brereton appointed, for the time, Lord Justice. Gray's enemies were many and vindictive, and their representations of his rule in Ireland resulted in his execution. An astute and cautious man was now appointed Lord Deputy. Sir Anthony St. Leger, who took up the reins of government in August, 1540, arrived at a time when the Irish chieftains manifested a tendency towards peace, a favourable state of things of which he took full advantage. He took up his duties fully prepared to carry out in fullest measure the liberal

plans of Henry, being himself persuaded that the spirit of revolt in Ireland would in time be overcome by kindness and consideration. With Cowley he believed that "Irishmen will never be conquered by rigorous war. They can suffer so much hardness to lie in the field, to eat roots and water continually, and be so deliver and light, ever at their advantage to flee or fight; so that a great army were but a charge in vain and would make victuals dear. . . ." Possibly he would have agreed with the conclusions of the same writer, to the effect that "The Irish have pregnant subtle wits, eloquent and marvellous natural in comynaunce. They must be instructed that the King intendth not to exile, banish, or destroy them, but would be content that every of them should enjoy his possessions, taking the same of the King, as O'Donel hath done and O'Neill is crying to do, and become his true subjects, obedient to his laws, forsaking their Irish laws, habits, and customs, setting their children to learn English."

The change in sentiment was indeed sudden, but not surprising when we recall the fact that Cowley, the writer of the words just quoted, had five years previously drawn up an elaborate scheme for the extermination of the Irish. Though the victory of Bellahoe broke the power of the northern Irish, all Ulster was still in the hands of the Irish chiefs, and the King, who, as the descendant of the Duke of Clarence and Elizabeth de Burgh, was heir to the Ulster earldom, had lost all his inheritance in that province except the single manor of Carlingford. The various chiefs such as O'Neill and O'Conor of Offaly were still paid their Black Rents, and it is therefore singular to find at such a time O'Donnell, as Cowley states, writing to the King expressing his repentance in humble terms, and acknowledging the royal supremacy. O'Neill addressed Henry in a letter written in Latin to which he attached his mark, and which was accompanied with a gift. These letters bore no results, for the two chieftains, being known to be in correspondence with the Court of

Scotland, were "greatly suspected" by the Lord Justice in Dublin, and the Privy Council, as in duty bound, conveyed their suspicions to the King.

Steps were now taken by St. Leger with a view to having an interview with O'Neill, and negotiations, which proved to be fruitless, were carried on for nearly twelve months. At length Manus O'Donnell, who had of late years exhibited a marked leaning towards the English, took the initiative, and O'Neill followed, but not until his territory had been subjected by the Lord Deputy to spoliation for twenty-two days. On O'Donnell's expressing a wish to negotiate, the Lord Deputy set out to meet him at Cavan. "Ulster, the richest, strongest, and most intensely Irish of the four provinces, had suffered less than any other part of the island from English invasions; and the Ulster lords were in manners and accomplishments immeasurably superior to those of the three southern provinces." St. Leger, instead of seeing, as he had expected, a semi-nude savage of the type of some of the southern chieftains, met an elegantly attired gentleman, of whose dress he was at pains to take note. It consisted, we are told, of "a coat of crimson velvet, with twenty or thirty pairs of golden aiglets; over that a great double cloak of crimson satin, bordered with black velvet; and in his bonnet a feather, set full of aiglets of gold; so that he was more richly dressed than any other Irishman". He was attended by his chaplain, "a right sober young man, well learned", who had been educated in France. O'Donnell expressed his pleasure on learning that Henry had assumed the kingship of Ireland, and stated that he desired himself to "conform to the obedience of his Highness, and to the civil order of the realm". He condemned in strong terms the conduct of O'Neill, his brother-in-law, saying that such "lewd and ill behaviour was not to be suffered any longer", but he begged at the same time, "forasmuch as the same O'Neill and he had been heretofore friends", that the Lord Deputy should

once again write to him before proceeding to extreme measures. This St. Leger consented to do, and a treaty was then concluded by which O'Donnell agreed to recognize Henry as his Lord and King; promised not to adhere to or confederate with any of the King's enemies; renounced the usurped primacy and authority of the Pope; undertook to reinforce the Deputy with 60 horsemen, 120 kerne, and the same number of gallowglasses, when required for hostings; and promised to be present in person at the next Parliament, or send a proper person to represent him. He also undertook faithfully to perform the articles contained in the King's letters; agreed to hold his lands of the Crown, with whatever title the King might be pleased to confer on him; and promised to send, as a hostage, one of his sons to be educated in England, and to learn English customs and manners. In consideration of these promises the Lord Deputy undertook on behalf of the Crown to aid, cherish and protect O'Donnell and his heirs against all who should seek to injure them or to invade their territory.

O'Neill being now the only Irish chieftain who had not submitted, stern measures were adopted and a hosting was proclaimed against him. In this hosting the Lord Deputy had the active support of all his newly acquired Irish allies, including O'Donnell and O'Reilly. Entering Tyrone in the closing days of September, St. Leger soon found he was invading a wilderness: not a house or farm was to be seen, barren acres spread out as far as the eye could see. No food could be obtained, and there was no shelter to be had, the troops in weather "cold and very foul" slept on the bare ground, "without tents or other succour of housing". Men and horses died in large numbers. The prospects of a winter campaign were not inspiriting; the district to be passed through appeared to be largely composed of bogs, lakes, and forests, a *terra incognita* in which the O'Neills lay snugly secure while fruitless efforts were being made to reach them.

But O'Neill deemed it wiser to submit, and the preliminaries of peace were signed on the 26th December. He consented to renounce the style and name of O'Neill, and promised, for himself, his family, and followers, to assume the English habit and language, to conform to English manners, and to obey the English law. He acknowledged Henry to be his most serene Lord and King, and promised to be a faithful subject to him and to his heirs for ever. He renounced the usurped authority of the Pope, agreed to recognize the King as the supreme head of the Church, and promised to compel all persons dwelling beneath his rule to do the same, and, in particular, to force all provisors to surrender their bulls, and to submit themselves to the ordinance of His Majesty. This particular provision was deemed necessary in O'Neill's treaty because it had been proved that he had lately received a letter from the Bishop of Mentz, written in the name of the council of cardinals, calling on him to draw the sword against the heretical opposers of the Pope, and appealing to him "for the glory of the Church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy and oppose the enemies of His Holiness".

O'Neill was the last to submit, and he therefore confessed that he had offended His Majesty, and prayed for pardon and pity. He most humbly entreated that the King would be pleased to accept and consider him as one of his most faithful subjects. He offered to obey the King's laws, in like manner as the Earls of Ormonde or Desmond and other noblemen of the land, and he asked to be created Earl of Ulster, and to hold his lands of the Crown. He humbly entreated that the King would grant him the lands aforesaid, with the same authority over all whom His Majesty should assign to him as the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond enjoyed in their respective countries. He agreed to attend the great councils called Parliaments; nevertheless he desired, on account of the expense and danger of the journey, to be excused from

attending any Parliament which should be held south of the River Barrow. He promised to allow Phelim Roe O'Neill, Neil Connelagh, and Hugh O'Neill to retain possession of all lands rightly and lawfully belonging to them. He renounced the Black Rent which he had hitherto received from the English of Uriel, but asked for some stipend whereby he might be the better enabled to serve His Majesty. He promised to attend the King's Deputy to hostings with such horsemen, kerne, and gallowglasses as the said Deputy should approve. He expressed his willingness that all such Irishmen as were then upon the King's peace should remain so until the King's pleasure should be further known; stipulating, on his side, that those who were then upon his peace should remain on the same. He undertook to cut passes through the forests between Tirowen and the Pale, so that the Lord Deputy might have free access to him and he to the Deputy. He undertook to rebuild the parish churches in his country, which were all in ruins, "in order that divine service might be once more celebrated, and the ignorant instructed in their duty to God and to the King". Finally he promised to use the English language and dress, and to encourage tillage and husbandry.

Under the compulsion of circumstances, the cost of the war, the severity of the winter, and the sufferings of the troops the Council prayed the King, when forwarding these articles, to ratify them. Henry was by no means pleased with the terms obtained from O'Neill, and was wrathful that this unruly chieftain should have had the temerity to suggest that he should be given "the name and honour of Ulster, being one of the greatest earldoms of Christendom and our own proper inheritance". He reproved the Council for their indifference in that they did "so slenderly weigh the said O'Neill's desire as to be induced to seem to take it as a thing reasonable, and to signify your opinion to us concerning the advancement of the same". The King, however, after some

hesitation, granted the greater part of O'Neill's demands, and the Irish chieftain withdrew, and apologized for, his request for the Earldom of Ulster, and was eventually created Earl of Tyrone, and by the same patent, his son, Ferdoragh, to whom the earldom was to descend, was created Baron of Dungannon. The honour of knighthood was conferred on the MacGennises, two gentlemen of his retinue; and another of his attendants, O'Kervellan, who had been appointed by the Pope to the Bishopric of Clogher, on resigning his bulls and renouncing the authority of Rome, was confirmed in his See. Thus the submission of Ulster was accompanied by the introduction of Protestanism.

CHAPTER XIX

The Policy of Conciliation

Investiture of O'Neill as Earl of Tyrone—Success of Henry's Policy—His Dealings with Church and Land—A Peaceful Ireland—The Scottish Element in Ulster—Death of Henry VIII—Accession of Edward VI—Policy of the Seymours—The Protectorate—St. Leger recalled—Succeeded by Sir Edward Bellingham—Machinations of the French—Disturbances in Ulster—Sir James Crofts, Lord Justice—All Ulster in Confusion.

A new era dawned for Ireland when the lately created Earl of Tyrone repaired to England, and was graciously received by the King at Greenwich on the 24th September, 1542. O'Neill (a name he had agreed to renounce) had already ratified his submission on 19th May, so that his appearance before Henry must be considered his third and final submission. He was the first of his race to visit England, and every ceremonial that could add to the dignity of the occasion or lustre to the investiture was employed. The proceedings commenced with a solemn Church service, after which the Irish chieftain was ushered into apartments belonging to the Queen, which were "richly hanged with cloth of arras and well strewed with rushes". Here he was arrayed in robes provided for him by the King and presented to the Earl of Hertford and the Earl of Oxford, the noblemen who had been appointed to act as his sponsors. Accompanied by them, Tyrone entered the great hall, in which the King was seated under the cloth of state, "with all his noble Council, and other noble persons of his realm as well spiritual as temporal". As the new Earl approached the King, his sword being borne before him by Viscount Lisle, afterwards Duke

of Northumberland, the letters patent were delivered by Garter to the Lord Chamberlain, and by the Lord Chamberlain to the King, who handed them to the Secretary to read aloud, which he did. "And when he came to *cincturam gladii* the Viscount Lisle presented to the King the sword, and the King girded the said sword about the said Earl baldrick-wise, the aforesaid Earl kneeling, and the other lords standing that lead him. And so the patent read out the King's Majesty put about his neck a chain of gold, with a cross hanging at it, and took him his letters patent, and he gave thanks unto him in his language, and a priest made answer of his saying in English. And there the King made two of the men that came with him Knights. And so the Earls in order aforesaid took their leave of the King's Highness, and departed unto the place appointed for their dinners, the Earl of Tyrone bearing his letters patent in his hands, the trumpets blowing before him unto the chamber, which was the Lord Great Master's under the King's lodging. And so they sat at dinner. At the second course Garter proclaimed the King's style, and after the said new Earl's in manner following: 'Du tres hault et puissant Seigneur Con O'Neil, Comte de Tyrone, Seigneur de Dungannon, du royaulme d'Irlande'. The King's Majesty gave him his robes of estate and all things belonging thereunto and paid all manner of duties belonging to the same."

The success of Henry's policy was greater and more immediate than could have been expected. Both Irish chiefs and Anglo-Irish lords kept to their bargain, and there seemed a fair prospect of Ireland becoming a united and loyal portion of the dominions of the Crown. The popularity of the King's methods is proved by the fact that Manus O'Donnell now petitioned for an earldom, requesting to be created Earl of Sligo. The King hesitated to grant a title which might be interpreted as a recognition of O'Donnell's claim to supremacy in Lower Connaught, and delays occurred whereby

the title was not bestowed until sixty years later, when O'Donnell's grandson was made Earl of Tyrconnell.

The introduction of Protestantism into Ulster meant little to the great Irish chiefs. The word "Protestant" is used in its widest sense, for it must not be forgotten that Henry VIII, when at Cromwell's suggestion he declared himself to be "the only supreme lord and head of the Church and clergy in England", hated the "Lutheran heresy", and lived and died, as his will proves him, "a good Catholic". He put to death Protestants for denying the old doctrine of transubstantiation, and Romanists for denying the new doctrine of the royal supremacy. Having been recognized as head of the Church in Ireland as well as in England, the King now proceeded to act as such, and, turning his attention to such institutions as were likely to dispute the validity of his claim, he forthwith commenced to demolish abbeys, priories, monasteries, and nunneries throughout the country. Acts were passed prohibiting appeals to Rome and forbidding the giving of first-fruits to the Pope, and one declared that the estates of absentees should be resumed by the Crown. The religious houses confiscated, numbered about five hundred. Pensions of various amounts were given to the heads of houses and to most of the brethren in consideration of orderly self-effacement, the surrendering of the houses being, of course, compulsory. The bulk of the land belonging to these houses was granted for a nominal sum to corporations and to some of the Irish and Anglo-Irish chiefs, and thus the latter got, almost as a free gift, what previously they had acquired at the cost of war.

But Henry's chief triumph was in the abolition of the tribal system of land tenure. The chiefs acknowledging Henry as the King of Ireland surrendered their lands, only to receive them again to be held by knights' service. In this they benefited greatly by the change. Not only, as we have seen, were the lands of the suppressed religious houses

granted to them on their assumption of their new titles, but their claims as landowners were recognized by the courts of law, which now ignored the Irish custom by which the land belonged, not to the individual but to the sept at large, and regarded the chiefs as the sole proprietors of the soil.

From this time (1540) until the close of Henry's reign the condition of the country slowly but steadily improved. Although not "lapped in universal law", Ulster was decidedly in a more peaceful mood than she had known for centuries. The universal acknowledgment of Henry's title of King of Ireland, and the education of the sons of the Irish chiefs in the English Court were both factors in the extension of English law and the general acceptance of English social methods. An important result of the amelioration of the country was seen a few years later, when, England being at war with France, it was found that not a single Irish chieftain offered to assist the enemy. A little later an Irish corps of over 1000 men joined the English army, and the members distinguished themselves by their valour and the rapidity of their movements at the siege of Boulogne. In the following year the services of an Irish contingent were employed in Scotland, and thus Irishmen fought against the Scots, from whom a few years earlier Ulster chieftains had hoped to get assistance to throw off the yoke of England.

But the Earl of Tyrone was no longer in sympathy with the Scots; he found those within his own borders very unruly, and their numbers were constantly increasing, being largely augmented by immigration. Cowley, who loved not the Irish, complained of the settlers in Antrim, and asserts that "a company of Irish Scots, otherwise called Redshanks, daily cometh into the north parts of Ireland, and purchaseth castles and piles upon the sea-coast there, so as it is thought that there be at this present [1542] above the number of two or three thousand of them within this realm: it is meet that they be expulsed from the said castles, and order taken that

none of them be permitted to haunt nor resort into this country: the rather because they greatly covet to populate the same". Scots poured into Antrim and Down from Bute, Arran, and Argyllshire, and were at first welcomed. The Irish chiefs fraternized with them, for were they not of the same race, and they spoke almost the same tongue. The Irish intermarried with them, and finally the Scots, by siding with one or the other of rival chiefs, stirred up enmity against themselves, and had to be subdued by the sword.

By the death of Henry VIII, in 1547, and the minority of his successor, Edward VI, Ireland sustained a great loss. The latter years of the dead King's rule had been so peaceable that they may be counted among the comparatively halcyon periods of Irish history. Even though Henry has been accused of having created Irish landlordism, the agreement with the landowners worked well, and a few more years of his vigorous and just government would have done much to establish the growth amongst the hitherto unruly chiefs of a love of English law and order. The succession of a minor is, as a rule, seized upon by the ambitious to misgovern in his name. Protectorates have frequently been occasions of disaster and crime. The Protectorate during Edward VI's reign did not advance the cause of Ireland.

As we have seen, Henry had, in spite of the Irish Council, carried out his plan of conciliating the Irish by "sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions of law and reason", and the fruits of his system promised well for the future. Upon his death the contrary counsels prevailed: it was believed to be better to drive the Irish than to lead them. To be just and firm, and to give time for those hitherto untried varieties of government to work, was at once the most merciful and most politic course that could be pursued. Unfortunately for the destinies of Ireland, unfortunately for the future comfort of her rulers, there was too little patience to persevere in that direction. On the accession of Edward VI

the control of English policy passed into the hands of his uncles, the Seymours, who neither knew nor cared anything for Irish affairs; but when, after the battle of Musselburgh, which was the result of a vain attempt to bring about the marriage of the King and Mary Queen of Scots, they were informed that O'Donnell had broken into rebellion in Ulster, and 1500 Scots had landed to support him, they deemed it wise to consider the state of things in "the dependency".

A union of Scotland and Ireland against England had been for long a constant object of French policy, and now news reached the Council that seven French vessels were at Dumbarton, and that on board one of them was "young Gerald of Kildare" (the sole survivor of that unhappy house); and it was said "that the said Kildare should marry with the Scottish Queen, and arrear all Ireland in their party against England, and further, that before Easter there should be such a battle fought that all England should rue it".

Under these circumstances St. Leger's firm but conciliatory policy was considered dangerous, and accordingly he was recalled in 1548, and Sir Edward Bellingham, who had acted as Captain-General of the English forces in Ireland during the summer of 1547, was appointed Lord Justice. Bellingham was directed to carry on the old policy of an iron rule, and he acted so fully up to his instructions that, by his "rough handling", he "put the Irish in such fear that they all conspired against him". It is true that Ireland needed a strong hand, for France remained on the look-out for a favourable opportunity to attack England through Ireland, and was untiring in her efforts to gain the support of the Irish chieftains. When Bellingham arrived at Dublin, French and Scottish agents were busily engaged with plans for a French invasion, for the restoration of Gerald FitzGerald, for the fortification of the Skerries, and the maintenance there of a French fleet. Among other French emissaries came John de Monluc, Bishop of Valence, "commanded thereto by the

King his master's letter, to know more particularly the motion and likelihood of the offer made by O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Dochart, and O'Carroll, willing to shake off the yoke of England, and become subject to the King of France". But though "the ambassador met in a secret part with O'Neill and his associates, and heard their offers and overtures", the transaction was not attended with any effect or consequence.

Bellingham was a man of energy and decision, and such a man won golden opinions during his short term of office. It was reported of him that "He was a perfectly good justicer, and departed hence with clean hands". Falling ill, he left Ireland in the summer of 1549, and died in the autumn. He was indeed a lesser Cromwell. "There was never deputy in the realm that went the right way as he doth," wrote an Irish gentleman to the Protector, "both for the setting forth of God's word and his honour, and the honour of the King's Majesty to his Grace's commodity and the weal of his subjects". And Walter Cowley, the Clerk of the Crown, wrote of him as having doubled "the King's possessions, power, obedience, and subjects in the realm" during the eighteen months of his rule.

When the Ulster chiefs handed over their lands to Henry, to receive them again to be held from the Crown, the tribesmen were wholly ignorant of the effect of what had taken place, but the sons of O'Neill and O'Donnell, who had got an idea of the transfer, refused to recognize it. Tyrone had named as his successor his illegitimate son, Ferdoragh, who was accordingly created Baron of Dungannon, to the subsequent displeasure of his son, Shane. Tirconnell also was disturbed by the fact that Calvagh O'Donnell had taken up arms against his father, Manus, on the grounds that he had parted with tribal lands. In 1548 a battle was fought between the O'Donnells at Strath-bo-Fiach, now Ballybofey, on the River Finn, when Calvagh and his ally, O'Kane, were defeated. Some of the Ulster chiefs appealed for the settlement

of their disputes to the Pale, and the latter took advantage of their position as arbitrators to strike a fatal blow at the power of the superior dynasts by making the inferior chiefs independent of them. MacGennis was freed from all subjection to O'Neill, and by similar means the power of O'Donnell was also restricted.

On Bellingham's death his place was filled by Sir Francis Bryan, who died two months later. Sir William Brabazon succeeded him as Lord Justice. In 1550 St. Leger returned, but was anxious to be relieved of office; accordingly, in the next year, Sir James Crofts was appointed. One of his first acts was to lead an army into Ulster against the island Scots and the MacDonnells of Antrim, whose increasing power had long been a source of anxiety to the English Government. Crofts sent four ships to Rathlin, where the MacDonalds of the Hebrides had a much larger force than he anticipated, and it is said that only one man of the four crews escaped with his life. The same year the O'Neills of Tyrone were at war, and all Ulster was in confusion.

CHAPTER XX

The Religious Element

The Act of Uniformity—Is followed by "Hurley-burleys"—Appointment of Dowdall as Primate—His Rival the "Blind Bishop"—Tyrone's Letter to King of France—Rebellion brewing in Ulster—Brereton's Independent Action—Tyrone complains—Brereton sacrificed—Introduction of the Liturgy—Conference in Dublin—Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, expostulates—The Primacy removed to Dublin—Sir James Cusack's Survey of Ireland—His Report on Ulster.

With the passing and enforcement of the Act of Supremacy it is not surprising that the religious element became a more significant feature in the life of the people, and gradually grew to be a fruitful source of trouble. The spirit of reform was in the air, and under its influence a breeze developed into a hurricane. The Protector was not satisfied to limit to England alone, his activities in regenerating the subjects of the King; he must needs extend the field of his operations to Ireland. In doing so he unwittingly stirred up a nest of hornets. Lord Deputy Sir James Crofts became impatient at the task allotted to him, and wrote to the Council deploring the action of the busy-bodies. "If the Lords of the Council", said he, "had letten all things alone in the order King Henry left them, and meddled not to alter religion, the hurley-burleys had not happened."

The "hurley-burleys" began with the death, in 1543, of Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, the personal friend, it will be remembered, of the Geraldines. Henry appointed George Dowdall, an Irishman, to the primacy, he having surrendered the priory of Ardee and taken the oath of supremacy. The

Pope, however, nominated a Scotsman named Robert Waucop, a very remarkable man, who was familiarly known as the blind bishop, he being so strangely afflicted with myosis as to give the impression that he was totally blind. Notwithstanding his defective vision he attained to such eminence that he was regarded as one of the most learned men of his age. The Society of Jesus, or the Jesuits, were first introduced into Ireland, in 1541, by Waucop. At the Council of Trent, in 1545, Waucop assisted, bearing the while the title of Archbishop of Armagh, a diocese to which he paid his first and only visit in 1550. He was in Ulster when Monluc visited O'Dogherty at his castle of Innishowen, and endeavoured to sow the seeds of rebellion in the north; but the conspiracy proved abortive, although the oath of allegiance to the King of France was taken by O'Neill, O'Dogherty, and O'Donnell. "Tyrone", we are told, "desired the French King to come with his power, and, if he would so prepare to do, to help him to drive out the Jewish Englishmen out of Ireland, who were such as did nothing to the country but cumber the same and live upon the flesh that was in it, neither observing fast-days, nor regarding the solemn devotion of the blessed mass or other ceremony of the Church, the French King should find him, the Earl, ready to help him with his men and all the friends he could make".

In the meantime Dowdall was not idle. He kept an eye on his rival, Waucop, and reported to Dublin that the Scottish friar was "a very shrewd spy and a great brewer of war and sedition". His belief in the sinister intentions of Waucop was strengthened by the receipt of a letter from Tyrone in which the Earl acknowledged having received letters from the French Ambassador, and stated that he himself had had an interview with "the blind doctor who calls himself Primate". He denied that he had given him any encouragement, and asserted that he had given no reply to the letters received from the French King. Tyrone also declared that

his loyalty was unshaken, and requested the Primate to forward his letter to Alen, the Lord Chancellor. O'Donnell, at the same time, wrote to Dublin, begging to be forgiven for having entertained the blind bishop, who had, he explained, been "in other places and countries in Ireland before he came into my country". O'Donnell also denied having recognized Waucop's claim to the primacy. He admitted having seen Monluc and also George Paris, FitzGerald's faithful follower, but stated that they had entrusted to him no letters, knowing well that on a previous occasion he had on receipt of such letters handed them to the Government.

In forwarding Tyrone's letter to Alen, Dowdall informed him that a combined Scottish and French armament was in active preparation for the invasion of Ulster in the summer. He asserted that the French had already "manned and stuffed with ordnance two castles in O'Dogherty's country". He pointed out that Waucop, who was with O'Donnell in Derry, was working in their interest. He expressed his firm belief in Tyrone's loyalty, and added that, so long as Tyrone was loyal, the hostility of the lesser chiefs might be ignored with safety.

One of the able commanders appointed by Bellingham was Sir Andrew Brereton, who was appointed to guard and direct a colony of settlers in the district of Lecale, a portion of the County Down which had long formed an outlying portion of the Pale, and adjoined the territory of an Irish sept called MacArtan, who were tributary to O'Neill. Brereton was a watch-dog in the English interest. No French emissary could leave Tyrone's castle without Brereton's making an effort to waylay him and relieve him of his despatches. On one occasion he succeeded in intercepting a letter in which the Earl invited a French invasion, and undertook especially to destroy the Lecale colony by betraying Brereton. Brereton therefore had no love for Tyrone. About this time (1551) the Earl of Tyrone became anxious on the

score of rents due to him by the MacArtans, and, seizing the only possible means to recover the money in a district in which the King's writ did not run, he sent a body of kerne to distrain for the amount due. This distraining party was accompanied by two brothers of Lady Tyrone. This, however, did not shut Brereton's eyes to the fact that the proceeding was flagrantly illegal, and he accordingly attacked O'Neill's representatives and put them to flight, the Countess's brothers being included in the number of the slain. That Brereton was not actuated by any personal animosity to the Earl of Tyrone is proved by the fact that although immediately after this mêlée, one of the sept of MacArtan became somewhat obstreperous, thinking doubtless that the English commander favoured his people, and he might be as unruly as he liked with impunity, Brereton nevertheless resorted to martial law and forthwith had the offender executed.

In earlier years Tyrone would have had recourse to arms; but, having grown wiser, he abstained from taking the law into his own hands, and contented himself by repairing to Dublin and laying his complaints before the Council. Like many a representative of the Crown who has acted on the spur of the moment in the best interests of the Government, and thereby saved the situation, Brereton was made a scapegoat. He was called upon to give an explanation of his conduct, and his only response was to draw up a statement of the Earl's recent misdeeds. Thereupon Brereton was summoned to Dublin, and, at a meeting of the Council, was told that he was accused by Tyrone of murder; whereupon "he said he would make answer to no traitor, threw his book [in which his list of Tyrone's misdeeds was written], and desired that the same might be openly read". The Council, "considering the same Earl to be a frail man, and not yet all of the perfectest subject, and thinking, should he know the talk of the same Mr. Brereton, having of his friends and servants standing by—for it was in the open council-house—it might be

a means to cause him and others of his sort and small knowledge to revolt from their duties and refuse to come to councils", endeavoured to pour oil on the troubled waters, and having come to the conclusion that "such handling of wild men had done much harm in Ireland", they reluctantly consented to "read the book, and do therein as should stand with their duties".

The accusations of Brereton put Tyrone in a towering rage. He again repaired to Dublin, and, appearing before the Council, declared that he "took the name of 'traitor' very unkindly", and demanded justice; whereupon the Council apologized for Brereton's conduct, reprimanded him and deprived him of his command, and by so doing humoured an Irish chief at the expense of an honest servant of the State. Brereton's vacated post was conferred on Robert St. Leger, a son of the Lord Deputy.

With the exception of the commotion caused by Brereton's action, Ulster was remarkably peaceful. The Ulster chiefs MacGennis (who had been knighted by Henry VIII), O'Hanlon, and MacMahon willingly paid an annual tribute to the Government. In Clanaboy and in the Ardes, where English law hitherto had been flouted, English Sheriffs were appointed. O'Neill, of Clanaboy, craved pardon in the humblest manner for his misdeeds, and agreed to forfeit his captaincy and all his lands "if ever he should depart from his faith of obedience", or from such orders as he received from Dublin for the government of his territory. He also, with the other chiefs named, undertook to cease to employ Scots as mercenary soldiers.

The religious element became more and more obtrusive. The reckless energy of the reformers, which had brought England to the verge of chaos, was now bringing Ireland to the brink of ruin. The religious changes which Cromwell had been forcing on an unwilling dependency had, with his death, been allowed a brief respite; with the accession

of Edward the system of change was renewed with great zeal. In 1551 the bishops were summoned before the Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had been instructed to hand them the new English liturgy, which, though it professed to be written in a tongue "easily understanded of the people", was compiled in a language as strange to the native Irish as was Latin. Stringent orders were issued that the liturgy should supersede the Latin service book in every diocese. The result was an uproar of protest. St. Leger, whose sole object was to ensure, if not peace, the semblance of peace, did what he could to pacify the people. He not only permitted high mass to be said at Christ's Church, in Dublin, but he also attended the service himself. "To make a face of conformity he put out proclamations" for the use of the Prayer Book; stating that an English version should be used where English was spoken, and an Irish one where otherwise; but the Irish one was not used. When Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, expostulated, St. Leger, tired of controversy, tried to silence him, and irritably said: "Go to, go to, your matters of religion will mar all", and handed him "a little book to read", which the horrified ecclesiastic found to be "so poisoned as he had never seen to maintain the mass, with transubstantiation and other naughtiness". The "hurley-burley" was acquiring volume!

The new liturgy was publicly read in Christ's Church, Dublin, in 1551, and in the same year the Primate consented to hold a conference with the Protestant authorities at St. Mary's Abbey. The conference was held in the great hall of the abbey, rendered historic by having been the scene of Lord Offaly's resignation in 1534. The Primate, who was attended by a large number of his suffragans, appeared as the Defender of the Faith, while Staples, Bishop of Meath, acted as the Protestant champion. Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, was not present, no doubt being notified that his controversial methods were more likely to irritate than to convince his

opponents. Sir James Crofts, at whose instigation the meeting was held, followed the proceedings with much interest and was occasionally appealed to on various points. The discussion, as might be expected, led to no modification of views on either side. Dowdall, when Staples asserted that the Church of Rome had erred, indignantly exclaimed: "Erred! the Church erred? Take heed lest you be excommunicated." "I have excommunicated myself from thence already," replied Staples. A conference conducted on such lines served no good end. As Dowdall himself admitted, it wasted time "when two parties so contrary met", and the conference broke up much in the same manner as when Dowdall flung out of the Council chamber on a previous occasion when asked to accept the liturgy, shouting as he went: "Now shall every illiterate fellow read mass". Browne was so much enraged at the opposition given by Dowdall to the introduction of the new liturgy, that he obtained a royal charter transferring to himself the primacy of all Ireland; and Dowdall, feeling that the cause was hopeless, and that he might possibly lose his liberty or his life, fled to the Continent. "I never", said Walter Savage Landor, "heard a discussion on religion, but religion was a sufferer by it." Alas! not religion alone is a sufferer, but all the amenities of life suffer; and the discussion at St. Mary's Abbey was followed by a senseless destruction of property saddening to contemplate. The Irish Annalists recorded that the venerable churches of Clonmacnoise were plundered by the English garrison of Athlone, and that "there was not left a bell small or large, an image, an altar, a book, a gem, or even glass in the window, which was not carried off"; and they added: "lamentable was this deed, the plundering of the City of Kieran!"

In November, 1551, Sir James Crofts wrote to the Duke of Northumberland begging him to name a successor to Dowdall, and stating that at Armagh he wished to have

"a discreet man of war, to take charge as a commissioner in those parts". After much diligent search, and many refusals to go to Ireland, a certain Hugh Goodacre accepted the vacant post. He, however, only survived his consecration a few weeks, being, it is stated, poisoned by a Roman Catholic priest. Of this, however, there is no evidence.

In the last year of King Edward's reign Sir James Cusack, who had been appointed Lord Chancellor on the fall of Alen, became Lord Justice. He performed a work of inestimable value in making a complete survey of Ireland. It is interesting to learn that Ireland on the whole at this period was pronounced to be loyal, prosperous, and improving, but it is matter for regret that the writer declared that Ulster was the least satisfactory of the four provinces. The O'Neills and O'Donnells had by their hostilities reduced the County Tyrone from being the most prosperous part of Ireland to a barren wilderness. Tirconnell was in much the same condition, while the Scottish settlements on the east coast were spreading with alarming rapidity; Lecale, however, was "for English freeholders and good inhabitance so civil as few places in the English Pale".

All these improvements Cusack attributed to the liberal policy of the last two deputies. "The policy that was devised for the sending of the Earls of Desmonde, Thomond, Clanrickard, and Tyrone, and the Baron of Upper Ossory, O'Carroll, MacGennis, and others into England, was a great help towards bringing those countries to good order; for none of those who went into England committed harm upon the King's Majesty's subjects."

CHAPTER XXI

Bad Money and Misery

The Introduction of "Brass Money"—Misery of Ireland in Consequence—The New Imposition called "Cess"—Rise of Prices—Crying down the Coinage—Death of Edward VI—Accession of Mary—Fall of the Earl of Tyrone—Rise of Shane O'Neill—War in Ulster—Defeat of the Baron of Dungannon—Shane O'Neill triumphant.

Matters temporal and spiritual usually go hand in hand in Ireland. By the irony of fate the advent of "brass money" coinage, which is indissolubly associated in the minds of men of Ulster with Popery and wooden shoes, was contemporaneous with the coming of the Reformation. By a resolution of the English Council, dated the 8th of July, 1550, it was determined that a mint should forthwith be established in Ireland, and that it should be farmed out for twelve months, on terms which brought about the last and worst measure any Government can adopt, a debasement of the currency. The Irish standard had been always lower than the English. When the English silver was 11 ounces fine to 1 of alloy, the Irish had been 8 ounces fine to 4 of alloy. It was now arranged with the manager of the Irish mint that the money to be coined was to be 4 ounces fine with 8 of alloy. The pound weight of silver, if coined at a pure standard, yielded forty-eight shillings; with two-thirds of alloy it should therefore produce one hundred and forty-four; and if the King was to make twenty-four thousand pounds by receiving, as arranged, thirteen shillings and fourpence on every seven pounds four shillings that were

issued, three hundred thousand pounds' worth of base coin would be let out over the Irish people in a single year. Notwithstanding that such a procedure threatened the country with great injury, the mint was established, and we learn from the Annalists that "new money was introduced into Ireland, that is copper; and the men of Ireland were obliged to accept it for Silver". In consequence, prices rose, and trade was utterly disorganized. The new coin was of so base a description that its introduction into England was prohibited under severe penalties. The mint continued, notwithstanding the universal outcry against the debasing of the currency, to pour forth supplies of coin, each issue being baser than the one which had preceded it. The confusion and loss caused thereby became daily more intolerable.

Such was the state of the currency in 1551, when Sir Anthony St. Leger left the country. He was succeeded, as we have seen, by Sir James Crofts, who was struck by the misery resulting from the circulation of the bad money, and complained, in a letter to the Duke of Northumberland, that he could not understand why Ireland should have worse money than England. He protested against a continuance of the debasement, and entreated that the standard might be restored. The mischief had only commenced; yet even then he represented that the soldiers could no longer live upon their wages; and the importance of this statement may be estimated from the fact that the maintenance of the garrisons in the affected districts alone cost thousands yearly. The natives had so poor an opinion of the coinage that they would not accept the money upon any terms. Crofts added that "the town of Dublin and the whole English army would be destroyed for want of victuals if a remedy were not provided". He suggested that a possible remedy would be to cry down the money to its true value, and to issue no more of it. In reply to

his complaints, Crofts was told that the reformation of the coinage was impossible, and the calling down objectionable. It was suggested that he should consult the principal people in the country about it; and he received a broad hint that the churches contained jewels and plate, which he might secure, failing which he could dismiss the soldiers if he could not pay them.

The Lord Deputy, an honest man, was in a cruel plight, but he recognized the truth of "needs must when the devil drives"; and as he could not dispense with his soldiers, he admits that in order to keep the army from starving he had been driven to purveying, but he hoped this state of things would not last long. "We have forced the people for the time", he wrote, "to take seven shillings for that measure of corn which they sell for a mark, and twelve shillings for the beef which they sell for fifty-three shillings and fourpence. These things cannot be borne without grudge, neither is it possible it should continue." The merchants cried out piteously against the fraud which was filching from them the results of their commerce. Consultations were of no avail. "I sent", wrote the Lord Deputy, "for inhabitants of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Drogheda, to know the causes of the dearth of corn and cattle, and how the same might be remedied. I declared unto them how the merchants were content to sell iron, salt, coal, and other necessaries, if they might buy wine and corn as they were wont to do. And thereof grew a confusion in argument, that when the merchant should need for his house not past two or three bushels of corn, he could not upon so small an exchange live; and likewise the farmer that should have need of salts, shoes, cloth, iron, hops, and such others, could not make so many divisions of his grain, neither should he at all times need that which the merchants of necessity must sell. So it was that money must serve for the common exchange."

A meeting was held in Dublin at the close of the year 1551, at which the Deputy met representatives of the industrial classes in Ireland, and discussed the first principles of commercial economy, but the meeting appears to have been barren of results. Those present agreed that "By the whole consent of the world gold and silver had gotten the estimation above other metals as meetest to make money of, and that estimation could not be altered by one little corner of the world, though it had risen but upon a fantastical opinion, when indeed it was grounded upon reason, according to the gifts that nature had wrought in those metals". They concluded, therefore, that if the currency could not honestly be restored, they preferred the lesser of two evils, and desired that it should be immediately called down to its market valuation.

But though the opinion of the country had been taken, as suggested, and the country was absolutely against the new coinage, and cried aloud for redress, the Government paid no heed to their sufferings. The prices continued to rise. "The measure of corn that was wont to be at two or three shillings", and when Croft was appointed Deputy in March, 1551, was "at six shillings and eightpence", rose a year later to "thirty shillings". "A cow that had been worth six shillings and eightpence sold for forty shillings; six herrings for a groat; cow-hides were ten to twelve shillings a hide; a tonne of Gascon wine was sold for twelve pounds, and of Spanish wine for double that sum."

The distress in the agricultural districts was particularly acute, owing chiefly to the reintroduction of the Anglo-Irish custom of coyne and livery under the new name of "cess". This new imposition has been defined as "a prerogative of the prince and an agreement and consent of the nobility to impose upon the country a certain proportion of victual and provision of all kinds, to be delivered and issued at a reasonable rate, or as it is commonly termed" at the King's price.

This price, unfortunately for the farmers, varied from time to time, being fixed by proclamation, and remained unaffected by the depreciation of the currency. Therefore, as the value of money decreased the cess became increasingly burdensome. The picture drawn by the honest Lord Deputy is harrowing even after a great lapse of time. "The people", he wrote, "know not the actual cause of their misery, but they know it originates in England; and that reflection is a source of bitterness: they do collect all the enormities that have grown in so many years, so that there is among them such hatred, such disquietures of mind, such wretchedness upon the poor men and artificers, that all the crafts must decay, and towns turn to ruin, and all things either be in common, or each live by others' spoil; and thereof must needs follow slaughter, famine, and all kinds of misery." Crofts was in deadly earnest. "Baseness of coin", he assured Northumberland, who, no doubt, was tired of the subject, for he never even acknowledged the receipt of the letter, "causeth universal dearth, increaseth idleness, decayeth nobility—one of the principal keys of the commonwealth—and bringeth magistrates into hatred and contempt of the people."

The wail of the injured Irish now rose in tones too piteous to be neglected, and at last, in April, 1552, Northumberland consented to cry down the money to half its previous value. Three thousand pounds weight of bullion was sent to Dublin, with orders to the manager of the mint to call down the coin, buy it in at the reduced valuation, and make a new issue at the old standard or something approximately near it. The crying down was effected in June, and a partial revival of the stricken trade of the country followed.

The death of Edward VI, in July, 1553, grievously upset the existing order of things. The tables were turned, and those who were ardent reformers were to be themselves speedily reformed. Browne and Staples were, on the acces-

sion of Mary, expelled from their Sees, and Dowdall was replaced in his archbishopric. Mary, notwithstanding her Catholicism, was not a Papist. She retained the title of Queen of Ireland in spite of the contention of Pope Paul IV that "it belonged only to him to give the name of a king", and clung with so much tenacity to the dignity that the Pope in the end was content "to dissemble the knowledge of what Henry had done and himself to erect the island into a kingdom, that so the world might believe that the Queen had used the title as given by the Pope, not as decreed by her father".

Ireland under Catholic Mary was, alas! no happier than under Protestant Edward, indeed there is every reason to believe that the country suffered more during the reign of the Queen, for we are told that "the Irish were not quieter during her reign than they were under her brother; but, on the contrary, their antipathy against Englishmen and government induced them to be as troublesome then as at other times", for "although the Queen was zealous to propagate the Catholic religion, yet her ministers did not forbear to injure and abuse the Irish".

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that Irish grievances increased and multiplied. When Conn O'Neill was created Earl of Tyrone, the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, believed that the remedy for Irish anarchy had at last been found. He had yet to learn that though the loyalty of Irish clansmen to their chiefs was very great, their loyalty to their national traditions was greater still. The evidence of this loyalty is clearly seen in the conduct of John or Shane O'Neill, a son of the Earl of Tyrone, who now appeared upon the scene. In the settlement brought about by Henry VIII, Tyrone surrendered his lands to the Crown, as already stated, only to receive them again under the usual feudal tenure. The earldom he received for himself and his heirs, and he named as his heir Ferdoragh (called by the English chroniclers Matthew), his favourite son, who was

accordingly created Baron of Dungannon. It was admitted at the time that there were serious doubts as to Ferdoragh's legitimacy, for he had not been presented to O'Neill by Alison Kelly, his mother, the wife of a blacksmith at Dundalk, until he was sixteen years old. Most men under these circumstances would have denied the paternity, but Conn O'Neill being—as his son, Shane, later explained to Queen Elizabeth—"a gentleman," in that "he never denied any child that was sworn to him, and that he had plenty of them", accepted the lad as his son, and, finding that he was a fine, dashing youth, gradually began to take delight in him. Thus it was that, on being required to name his heir, he named Ferdoragh, and accordingly to Ferdoragh was secured the reversion of the earldom on his father's death.

Tyrone, having grown old, became forgetful of his submission, and, reflecting on his past life, became filled with an abnormal sense of the greatness and regal splendour of his race. He had in his early manhood pronounced a curse on those of his posterity who should ever conform to English ways or associate with Saxons. And now all these favourite ideas were revived, when from his own reconciliation with the English Government he returned to live among his kinsmen and followers. His partiality for his son Ferdoragh caused much jealousy among his legitimate children. Shane and his brother Hugh endeavoured to alienate their father from the Baron of Dungannon, and from the Government which had countenanced his shameful liking for one who was in all probability not his son. They reproached him with his degenerate submissions to the English Crown, and exhorted him to resume the ancient dignity and independence of his house. The Earl was but too susceptible to such impressions, and readily sacrificed the interests of his favourite to dreams of shaking off the yoke of allegiance and recovering the ancient independence of the house of O'Neill. He began to regret his unjust partiality to Ferdoragh, and desired that

Shane should succeed to all his honours. Some attempts against Ferdoragh made by Shane and Hugh, with the Earl's connivance, raised considerable commotion, and obliged Dungannon to advise the authorities at Dublin of the dangers he himself ran, and of the suspicious conduct of his father and his tendency to revolt. These charges resulted in the Earl and Countess being arrested and removed to the restraining influence of the English Pale, and later, on some further rumours of their disloyal intentions, to their being imprisoned in the house of a magistrate in Dublin.

Shane now proceeded to make war against Ferdoragh, to whom he attributed the imprisonment of his parents. Ferdoragh relied on the assistance of the Lord Deputy, and the Lord Deputy, depending on the forces commanded by the Baron, joined him with some newly raised levies. Shane and his followers were reinforced by a body of Scots, who had made a descent upon Ulster and were ready to engage in the service of any chieftain who was ready and willing to pay for his requirements. He suddenly attacked the joint forces of the Lord Deputy and Dungannon, defeated and pursued them with considerable slaughter, and, encouraged by this success, he plundered his father's castle, ravaged his whole territory, and spread desolation through a district the fairest and most flourishing in the whole island. Repeated attempts made by the Lord Deputy to reduce him to submission were futile, and as a rule ended for the Crown in disgrace and disappointment. A new force was now in Ulster, and years elapsed before the Crown ceased to be troubled by Shane O'Neill.

CHAPTER XXII

The Scots in Ulster

Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy—Incursions of the Scots—Calvagh O'Donnell imprisons his Father—Shane O'Neill aids Sussex—O'Donnell defeats O'Neill—Dowdall's Strictures on Sussex—The Scots attacked by the Lord Deputy—Death of the Baron of Dungannon—And of Conn O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone—State of the Irish—Death of Mary.

In the five years of Mary's reign, little of moment occurred in Ulster. In 1556 St. Leger finally left Ireland, his successor being Thomas Radclyffe, Lord FitzWalter, better known by his later title of Earl of Sussex. One of his first acts was to lead an army into Ulster against the Scots, then very powerful in the districts of the Route and Clanaboy. These Scots had long been a menace to the peace of Ulster. Descended from the Scots of Ireland, they had extended their sway over all modern Scotland; and in their new home, those who dwelt on the east coast were content with their lot. Those who lived on the western coast were of a more restless and adventurous disposition. These Scots, under their chiefs, the MacDonalds of the Isles, made many descents on the adjacent Irish coasts. Confined originally to the glens of Antrim, to which they could show some sort of title, the MacDonalds had gradually extended their sway over the whole of the eastern counties. It was calculated, in 1539, that at least 2000 of them were in Ulster. St. Leger reported, six years later, that he feared an invasion from them in force, and before the end of the year the Lord of the Isles did come, and was at Carrickfergus with 4000 men; and Bellingham was instructed to assist the Earl of Tyrone against them. Often,

as we have seen, they hired themselves out to the Ulster chiefs as mercenaries. But they effected permanent settlements as well. They had expelled the MacQuillans from the Route; they had occupied Clanaboy, besieged Knockfergus, and levied Black Rent from the English colonists in Lecale; but whether in making war themselves, or in aiding the Irish chiefs to make war, they kept Ulster in constant unrest, and all attempts to reduce them were unsuccessful.

When Sussex landed, the Scots in Ulster numbered 7000, and the immigration continued. Their presence in Antrim was no less unwelcome to the O'Neills than it was to the English Government. The supremacy of Tyrone was threatened, and Shane O'Neill therefore gladly assisted the new Deputy in his attempt to subdue the Scots. A skirmish took place near Glenarm, when some seventy or eighty Scots were killed. But this was the sole victory gained; and at the end of six weeks, his provisions being exhausted, Sussex marched back to Dublin "without receiving submission or hostages". The old Earl of Tyrone did not despair, but was again unfortunate in an expedition against the same dangerous intruders in Clanaboy, being defeated by them, with the loss of 300 men.

In 1555 Calvagh O'Donnell employed some Scottish auxiliaries against his father, Manus, whom he made prisoner and detained in captivity until his death. In 1557 the Scots penetrated to Armagh, which was plundered twice in one month by the Earl of Sussex. His object on this occasion was to assist the Baron of Dungannon against Shane O'Neill. He pitched his camp near Armagh Cathedral and burnt a great part of the town. Having done this, he returned to Dublin. Shane, who had contrived to evade meeting Sussex, retaliated by burning several villages in the Pale. That these futile efforts on the part of Sussex did not pass without criticism is proved by a comment given in the State papers in which they are described. "And when in time

of war with any Irishry of power, as of late with O'Neill, occasion moveth the governor to proclaim a main journey for thirty or forty days to invade the enemy's country, the governor goeth with the army and force of the English Pale, to their great charge, where they continue out their days while their victuals last, and then fain to return home again, as many times they do, without booty or other harms done, or yet can be done to a waste country, the inhabitants whereof, whilst the English host is in their country, shutteth all their cattle into woods and pastures, where they continue until the English army be gone; and then do they come into the plains of their country with their cattle again, where they are ready anew to invade and spoil the English Pale as before; as commonly they do bring with them great booties out of the borders of the same, whereof if recovery be not made by hot pursuit of some part of that they take away, very seldom or never can be found any of theirs worth the having to be taken from them for the same again. So as, by these appearances, wheresoever the service is done, the same is a charge to the Queen's Majesty, a burden to the liege people to the decay both of them and the English soldiers, fretting one another of themselves, with small defence to the Pale, nor yet can be any great scourge to the enemy, who always gaineth by our losses, and we never gain by them, although we win all we play for, the stakes being so unequal, not a penny against a pound, for that the English Pale is planted with towns and villages, inhabited with people resident, having goods and chattels, corn and household stuff, good booties for the Irish enemies to take from us, and their countries being kept of purpose waste, uninhabited, as where nothing is, nothing can be had."

The Archbishop of Armagh was naturally wroth with the new Lord Deputy, for had he not pitched his camp in the cathedral! The vice-regal army had pillaged the cathedral and burnt several churches. Ireland, wrote Dowdall to the

Archbishop of York, was in a worse state than ever it had been "except the time only that O'Neill and O'Donnell invaded the English Pale and burnt a great piece of it". The north, he said, was "as far out of frame as ever it was", and the Scots were "not only in such lands as they did lately usurp, but also in Clanaboy".

In this same year (1557) Shane O'Neill, observing the weak condition to which Calvagh's rebellion had reduced Tirconnell, thought the opportunity a favourable one to recover the power of which his ancestors had been deprived by the O'Donnells. He accordingly mustered a large army and pitched his camp at Carrigliath, between the Rivers Finn and Mourne, where he was joined by Hugh, the brother of Calvagh O'Donnell, and several of the men of Tirconnell who were disaffected towards their chief for his rebellion to his father. Calvagh in this emergency consulted Manus, and by his advice resolved to avoid a pitched battle, and to have recourse to stratagem. He caused his cattle to be driven to a distance, and when O'Neill entered his territory, and marched as far as the place now called Balleeghan, near Raphoe, he sent two spies into the Tyrone camp, while he himself hovered not far off with his small force. The spies mixed with Shane's soldiers, received rations which they carried back as evidence of their success, and undertook to guide O'Donnell's army that night to O'Neill's tent, which is described as being distinguished by a great watch-fire, a huge torch burning outside, guarded by sixty grim gallow-glasses on one side of the entrance, armed with sharp axes, ready for action, and on the other side by as many wild and awe-inspiring Scots with their broadswords in their hands.

Overweening confidence had rendered O'Neill careless. He boasted that no one should be king in Ulster save himself, and despised the power of his crafty foe; but O'Donnell penetrated under cover of the darkness into the heart of O'Neill's camp, and proceeded without resistance to slaughter

the men of Tyrone, and the whole were routed or cut to pieces, while Shane himself, escaping through the back of his tent, fled unattended save by two of O'Donnell's men, and by swimming across three rivers made his way, covered with confusion, to his own territory.

Dowdall's strictures on Sussex naturally irritated the Lord Deputy, and he complained of the Archbishop's accusations to the Queen, who immediately commanded the Archbishop "to be ordered as appertaineth for slandering unjustly of a minister in so great a charge". Dowdall defended himself vigorously in a speech which gives incidentally a picture of Ulster as it then was. He advocated the abandonment of all hostility to the native Irish. If this were done, he said, the Scots would be driven out of the country, and it would be an easy matter to induce all the Irishmen of Ulster, "whom you call 'the wild Irish'", to make war upon the MacDonalds; Tyrone, O'Donnell, and O'Neill of Clanaboy, and O'Cahan might be trusted to do their parts, and the expulsion of the Scots would be effected without expense to the Crown; and if the Scots were expelled a great reduction could be made in the army.

The Scots, however, continued to give trouble, and the Lord Deputy prepared to attack them on their own ground. A fleet was equipped in August, 1558, and on the 14th day of September Sussex sailed from Dublin, "trusting to accomplish your Highness' commandment if wind and weather serve". He arrived on the 19th at Lough Gylkeran, in Kintyre, and, landing, burned the country around, "and therewith James MacDonald's chief house, called Sandell, a fair pile and a strong". On the day following he crossed over by land and burned twelve miles on the other side of the lough, "wherein were burned a fair house of his called Mawher Imore, and a strong castle called Donalvere". From Kintyre he proceeded to Arran, "and did the like there", and thence to the Great and Little Cumbraes, which he also

burned. "And riding at anchor between Cumbrays and Bute," he told Queen Mary, "where I also thought to have landed, there arose suddenly a terrible tempest, in which I sustained some loss."

The prosecution of the Scots absorbed the attention of the Irish Government during the last months of Mary's reign. In October Sussex again invaded the Route, and might possibly have effected some lasting good, but a mysterious disease attacked the army, and out of a force of 1100 men only 400 were fit to take the field. Under these circumstances he reluctantly retired to Dublin.

In the autumn of 1558, Ferdoragh, Baron of Dungannon, in attempting to invade Tyrone, was killed. His death was followed in the beginning of 1559 by that of Conn O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, and thereby "Shane the Proud", as he was called by his followers, became in name what he had long been in fact, the chief of the O'Neills. Only one life lay between him and the earldom: Ferdoragh had left a young son to succeed to the title of Tyrone. Shane professed to hold all such titles in disdain. He appealed to his people, and was unanimously elected chief of Tyrone as The O'Neill, and at once became the idol of every fighting man from Lough Foyle to the banks of the Blackwater.

Queen Mary died in November, 1558, and Elizabeth, her successor, was too preoccupied to give Ireland the attention which she deserved. Ulster was preparing for war, and "the Lords and Gentiles of the Irish Pale that were not governed under the Queen's laws were compelled to keep and maintain a great number of idle men of war to rule their people at home, and exact from their neighbours abroad —working everyone his own wilful will for a law—to the spoil of his country and decay and waste of the commonweal of the same". "The idle men of war ate up altogether"; the lord and his men took what they pleased,

"destroying their tenants and themselves never the better"; "the common people, having nothing left to lose", became "as idle and careless in their behaviour as the rest", "stealing by day and robbing by night". But though thus occupied all "were always ready to bury their own quarrels to join against the Queen and the English".

A sad picture is drawn of the people at the time when the crown passed to Elizabeth. "The appearance and outward behaviour of the Irish", we are told, "sheweth them to be fruits of no good tree, for they exercise no virtue, and refrain and forbear from no vice, but think it lawful to do every man what him listeth. . . . They neither love nor dread God nor yet hate the devil. They are worshippers of images and open idolaters. Their common oath they swear is by books, bells, and other ornaments which they do use as holy religion. Their chief and solemnest oath is by their lord's or master's hand, which whoso forsweareth is sure to pay a fine or sustain a worse turn. The Sabbath day they rest from all honest exercises, and the week days they are not idle, but worse occupied. They do not honour their father or mother so much as they do reverence strangers. For every murder they commit they do not so soon repent; for whose blood they once shed, they lightly never cease killing all that name. They do not so commonly commit adultery; not for that they profess or keep chastity, but for that they seldom or never marry, and therefore few of them are lawful heirs, by the laws of the realm, to the lands they possess. They steal but from the strong, and take by violence from the poor and weak. They know not so well who is their neighbour as whom they favour; with him they will witness in right and wrong. They covet not their neighbour's goods, but command all that is their neighbour's as their own. Thus they live and die, and there is none to teach them better. There are no ministers. Ministers will not take pains where there is no living to be had, neither church nor parish, but all decayed.

IRISH MEN AND WOMEN, TEMP. ELIZABETH

From an Addisonian MS. in the British Museum

The two figures on the left are entitled "A Noble Lady" and "A Burgher Woman", and represent inhabitants of the Pale; the two men on the right are called "Wild Irish".

People will not come to inhabit where there is no defence of law."

Such was Ireland in the first year of Elizabeth's reign. The report of 1559 concluded with an earnest prayer to the Queen "to bring the poor ignorant people to better things, and to recover so many thousand lost souls that were going headlong to the devil".

CHAPTER XXIII

Shane O'Neill and the Crown

The Crown defied by Shane O'Neill—He claims the Sovereignty of all Ulster—He is visited by the Lord Justice, Sir Henry Sidney—Shane's Claims considered by the Crown—Elizabeth declares in his Favour—And alters her Decision—O'Neill attacks and captures O'Donnell—He invades Breffny—Sussex, the Lord-Lieutenant, invades Tyrone—His Forces defeated by Shane.

The history of Ulster during the first ten years of the reign of Elizabeth was largely a record of the doings of Shane O'Neill. Having assumed the chieftaincy on the death of his father, and having set aside the claims of the young Baron of Dungannon, he now proceeded to set the Government at defiance, and claimed the sovereignty of all Ulster. For some years he had professed peaceable intentions towards the Crown of England, and had been formally received as an ally by the Lord Deputy, whom he had assisted on one or two occasions to subdue the Scots. His assumption of the chieftainship of Tyrone was, however, an act which flouted the power of the Crown which had created his father a peer of the realm, vested him with his lands to be held by English tenure, and determined the succession in favour of Ferdoragh and his issue. His turbulence and arrogance were represented in such exaggerated terms to Sir Henry Sidney, who as Lord Justice acted in the absence of Sussex, that by the advice of the Council the Deputy marched northwards to Dundalk, and summoned Shane to account for his proceedings and give assurances of his loyalty.

O'Neill has been represented as three-fourths of a savage,

and as being addicted to every vice. But subsequent events prove that, barbarian though he possibly was, he was cautious, circumspect, and acute. The loyalty of his followers, he was well aware, depended on their opinion of his power and dignity; and that therefore his attendance on Sidney in his quarters would be interpreted as an abject submission on his part, and an acknowledgment of the power of the Government. He determined, in consequence, to evade the Lord Justice's summons, and at the same time to impress upon his countrymen how great was his own importance. Accordingly he replied to Sidney's summons in terms which expressed unswerving loyalty to the Queen, and submission to her representative; at the same time requesting, as an evidence of the friendly relations existing between the Government and himself, that the Lord Justice should honour him with a visit, and further that he should stand sponsor for a child lately born to him.

The insolence of this overture was fully recognized; yet it was deemed politic to comply with it, and Sidney accepted the invitation and the responsibilities it entailed. O'Neill entertained him with rude magnificence, and when the ceremonials were ended, and the real business of the meeting came to be discussed, Shane was well prepared to conduct his own defence. With firmness and composure he acknowledged that he had opposed the succession of Ferdoragh's son to the sovereignty of Tyrone. It was well known, he added, that Ferdoragh, whom Henry VIII had incautiously created Baron of Dungannon, was not the son of Conn O'Neill, and he assured Sidney that even if he himself were to resign his pretensions in favour of Ferdoragh, more than one hundred members of the sept of O'Neill were ready to assert the honour of their family against the usurpation of any spurious race. He pointed out that the letters patent, on which the claim of Ferdoragh's son were based, were, in effect, vain and frivolous, for Conn O'Neill, by the ancient institutions of Ulster, could

claim no right in Tyrone save during his own life; nor was he empowered to surrender or exchange his tenure without consent of all the chiefs and inhabitants of his territory. Or, if the cause should be determined by the English law, it is the known order and course of this law that no grants can be made by letters patent until an "inquisition be previously held of the lands to be conveyed; but no such inquisition had been held in Tirowen, which had not known the English law, nor ever been reduced to an English county". Were it still determined that the inheritance should descend in succession to the rightful heir, he, Shane, was the rightful heir, as eldest of the legitimate sons of the Earl of Tyrone. But his claim rested on a foundation which none in Ulster dare gainsay—on the unanimous and free election of his fellow-countrymen, who on the death of his father had chosen him for their leader, as the best and bravest of his family: an election ever practised in Ulster without any application to the Government of England. And thus invested with the chieftaincy of Tyrone, he claimed only those rights and jurisdictions which a long line of his predecessors had enjoyed, of which the proof could be produced so as to exclude all controversy and render the interference of the Crown totally unnecessary.

The Lord Justice, who, previous to this meeting with Shane, had deemed it "dishonourable that he should be 'gossip' to a rebel before submission", was now so deeply influenced by the arguments urged by O'Neill in support of his rights, that he consulted the Council, and on their advice he informed Shane that the points brought forward by him were of too great importance to receive an immediate and hasty decision, and that he would therefore first submit them to the Queen. In the meantime he advised O'Neill to persevere in a loyal and peaceable demeanour, and to rest assured of receiving from the throne whatever should be found right, meet, and equitable. Shane promised to follow his advice, and Sidney withdrew his forces from Dundalk.

Elizabeth appears to have been as much impressed as Sidney by the reasoning and firmness of O'Neill, and after some consideration of the matter she declared that the late Earl of Tyrone should be succeeded by his eldest legitimate son Shane, and not by his illegitimate son Ferdoragh (or Matthew as he was called by the English), and this especially for two reasons: first, because Shane was the eldest legitimate son, and, secondly, because he was in quiet possession of all his father died possessed of, so that justice as well as expediency seemed to suggest that he should be permitted to succeed his father.

In less than twelve months this decision was reversed. The points raised by O'Neill had been debated in a series of questions "to be considered against Shane O'Neill", and the conclusion arrived at was that Henry VIII, being King of Ireland and Earl of Ulster, and inheriting from Henry II, who had conquered all Ireland, had supreme dominion over Ulster and could give the lands of Tyrone to whomsoever he pleased; and that though Conn O'Neill had but a life interest in these lands, he had rebelled, and had been joined by the people, and thus his rights, and the rights of the people, were forfeited to the Crown. From which it followed that Henry VIII was justified in making Ferdoragh heir to Conn O'Neill. The objection that there had been no previous inquisition was disposed of by the assertion that this form was required only when the land was ruled by such officers as escheators and sheriffs, and none such existed in Tyrone.

The speciousness of such reasoning is evident. Henry II never conquered Ulster, nor did he ever get any submission from the chiefs of the province. The Earldom of Ulster which Henry VIII inherited was but an empty title, for it will be remembered that Lionel, Duke of Clarence, failed in his efforts to recover the lands which were his wife's property, and in consequence the lands of Ulster were for centuries in the possession of the O'Neills. But the arguments brought

forward appeared to satisfy Elizabeth and Cecil, and in 1560 the Queen directed Sussex as Lord Deputy to reduce Shane O'Neill to obedience, and she declared Brian, the son of Ferdoragh, to be the heir in right, and gave instructions that he should be restored to those lands of which Shane had dispossessed him.

Shane was prepared for any adverse action by England, and he had therefore endeavoured to strengthen his hands by making friendly advances to Calvagh O'Donnell, advances which were so willingly met that O'Neill now married O'Donnell's sister. The Government proceeded to show its distrust in the chief of Tirowen by attempting to alienate the neighbouring chiefs from him, and with that object in view honours were conferred on some and promises given to others. O'Reilly was created Earl of Breffny and Baron of Cavan, and a messenger was sent by a circuitous route to Calvagh O'Donnell, bearing letters from the Queen offering to create him Earl of Tirconnell, together with letters from the Earl of Sussex to O'Donnell's wife, a sister of the Duke of Argyll, informing her that the Queen was sending her some costly presents. The "presents" consisted of some old dresses of Queen Mary, and they were stated to be "for a token of favour". It was hoped that "the Countess of Argyll", as the lady was styled, might be the means of introducing Protestantism into Ulster. James MacDonald of the Isles and his two brothers, near kinsmen of the house of Argyll, who had settled in Tirconnell, were also approached with the same object.

O'Neill, who fully understood this indirect mode of showing enmity against himself, soon made the recipients of English favours rue the friendship which was only intended to wean them from the interests of their country. He invaded the territory of the newly created Earl of Breffny, and, after laying it waste, compelled O'Reilly to become his vassal. Against O'Donnell his enmity was not of recent date, and he

seized an opportunity which now presented itself of gratifying all his vengeance. He learned that the principal part of O'Donnell's army was absent on a hostile excursion to Lough Veagh in Donegal, while Calvagh himself was almost unattended at the monastery of Kilodonnell, near the upper end of Lough Swilly; and, making a sudden descent, he surrounded the monastery, and carried off O'Donnell and his wife prisoners. The former he incarcerated in a dungeon in one of his castles, and the latter he made his mistress. It is stated that the imprisonment of her father caused Mary, O'Neill's wife, to die "of horror, loathing, grief, and deep anguish".

O'Neill now declared himself chief of all Ulster. He no longer attempted to disguise his hatred of England, but openly declared his determination to contend against English power, not only in his own province of Ulster, but also in Leinster and Munster. He led an army into Bregia, plundered the territory of the Pale, and only returned to the north at the approach of winter, when he had destroyed the corn and left no food in the country to support a hostile force.

James MacDonald having been heard in private to say that the Queen of Scots was rightful Queen of England, and this saying being reported to Shane, he at once saw in MacDonald an invaluable ally, and he succeeded in inducing James to give him his daughter in marriage. By this alliance he made himself so formidable a foe that the Government became very much alarmed. Elizabeth had, at this time, designed to try the effect of a conciliatory policy with O'Neill, and Sussex, when returning from England as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in June, 1561, received instructions to that effect; but for some unknown reason the contrary course was pursued. The Viceroy had brought reinforcements from England, and, with as powerful an army as he could collect, including the forces of the Earl of Ormonde, he marched to Armagh, where he threw up entrenchments round the cathedral with the view

of establishing a strong garrison there. He sent a large body of troops into Tyrone, and these were returning laden with spoil when O'Neill set upon them, defeated them with slaughter, and retook the booty. This defeat produced intense alarm in the Pale, and created no slight uneasiness even in England, while it proportionately increased the confidence of the Irish. Sussex had recourse to negotiations, but O'Neill declared that he would listen to no terms until the English troops were withdrawn from Armagh. Fresh reinforcements were poured in from England, and the Earls of Desmond, Kildare, Thomond, and Clanrickard are said to have assembled in the Lord-Lieutenant's camp, on 1st June, 1551, in obedience to his call. With a large and well-equipped army Sussex now advanced into Tyrone as far as Lough Foyle and devastated the country; but O'Neill, adopting the tactics which had always frustrated the English when their greatest efforts were made in the way of preparation, withdrew beyond their reach to his forests and mountains.

Sussex now stayed in Armagh doing nothing till the end of the month, when his provisions began to run short and necessity compelled him to move. Spies brought him word that in the direction of Cavan there were certain herds of cattle which an active party might cut off, and, the replenishment of his stores with a goodly quantity of beef being desirable, Sussex made an effort to secure them. He did not himself accompany the troops, for Ormonde being ill he stayed with him; and the men, led by false guides, who were really in the pay of Shane, were at the additional disadvantage of being without their commander. On the morning of the second day they were marching forward in loose order; Sir William FitzWilliam, the Lord Deputy, with 100 horse, was a mile in advance of the main body, which consisted of 500 men-at-arms with a few hundred loyal Irish of the Pale; another hundred horse under James Wingfield brought up the rear. Straggling along thus, Wingfield was surprised

by O'Neill, who attacked the rear-guard with a force of 600 men, sending the English horse galloping forward upon the men-at-arms, creating thereby confusion among the troops, the cavalry and infantry becoming intermingled and at the mercy of Shane's troopers, who rode through the broken ranks "cutting down the footmen on all sides". FitzWilliam, learning of the attack from a flying horseman, immediately galloped back, followed by a gentleman named Parkinson and ten or twelve of his own servants, and flung himself into the mêlée. Sir George Stanley was close behind him with the rest of the advanced horse, and "Shane, receiving such a charge of those few men and seeing more coming after", blew a recall note and retreated unpursued. FitzWilliam's courage had saved the army from being annihilated. Out of 500 English, 50 lay dead, and 50 more were badly wounded; and the survivors fell back on Armagh.

The two reports made by Sussex of the events of this disastrous day give diverse accounts. To the Queen the Viceroy pretended that after a slight repulse he had gained a brilliant victory, to Cecil he was candid and deplored his heavy losses.

"By the cowardice of some", he wrote, "all was like to have been lost, and by the worthiness of two men all was restored and the contrary part overthrown. It was by cowardice the dreadfullest beginning that ever was seen in Ireland; and by the valiantness of a few (thanks be given to God!) brought to a good end. Ah! Mr. Secretary, what unfortunate star hung over me that day to draw me, that never could be persuaded to be absent from the army at any time, to be then absent for a little disease of another man? The rereward was the best and picked soldiers in all this land. If I or any stout man had been that day with them, we had made an end of Shane, which is now farther off than ever it was. Never before durst Scot or Irishman look on Englishmen in plain or wood since I was

here; and now Shane, in a plain three miles away from any wood, and where I would have asked of God to have had him, hath with a hundred and twenty horse and a few Scots and galloglasse, scarce half in numbers, charged our whole army, and by the cowardice of one wretch whom I hold dear to me as my own brother, was like in one hour to have left not one man of that army alive, and after to have taken me and the rest at Armagh. The fame of the English army, so hardly gotten, is now vanquished, and I wrecked and dishonoured by the vileness of other men's deeds."

It was evident that the Viceroy's army was not an effective fighting force, nor was the self-styled King of Ulster to be easily crushed.

CHAPTER XXIV

O'Neill the Great visits Elizabeth

Shane summoned to the Court of Elizabeth—His Letter to the Queen—Sussex attempts to get Shane murdered—Shane prepares to submit—His Terms of Submission—He sails from Dublin—Received on his Arrival in London by Cecil, Pembroke, and Bacon—He appears before Elizabeth—Received graciously by the Queen—He is detained in England—Corresponds with Elizabeth.

Shane O'Neill was now required to appear in person before Elizabeth to explain the grounds on which he based his claim to the Earldom of Tyrone, and also to account for the disloyal conduct of which he had, of late, been guilty. O'Neill professed the fairest and most peaceable intentions, and denied that he had opposed the Government: what he had done had been done in self-defence; and he maintained that no attempts should be made to control him in the just exercise of his own authority. He held that if he had attacked any of the English settlements, he had only repelled their attempts against himself: these injurious neighbours, envying his state, and being desirous to wrest from him his possessions, had even formed designs against his person; the result being that he lived in constant danger of being assassinated.

He now wrote to the Queen giving an account of himself and his actions, and his letter, though it suffers much from being translated, is a document which proves that if the writer was, when viewed from a modern standpoint, a savage, he was at least a highly interesting savage.

"The Deputy", he writes, "has much ill-used me, your

Majesty; and now that I am going over to see you I hope you will consider that I am but rude and uncivil, and do not know my duty to your Highness nor yet your Majesty's laws, but am one brought up in wildness far from all civility. Yet have I a good will to the commonwealth of my country; and please your Majesty to send over two commissioners that you can trust that will take no bribes nor otherwise be imposed on, to observe what I have done to improve the country, and to hear what my accusers have to say; and then let them go into the Pale and hear what the people say of your soldiers with their horses, and their dogs and their concubines. Within this year and a half, three hundred farmers are come from the English Pale to live in my country where they can be safe.

"Please your Majesty, your Majesty's money here is not so good as your money in England, and will not pass current there. Please your Majesty to send me three thousand pounds of English money to pay my expenses in going over to you, and when I come back I will pay your Deputy three thousand pounds Irish, such as you are pleased to have current here.

"Also I will ask your Majesty to marry me to some gentlewoman of noble blood meet for my vocation. I will make Ireland all that your Majesty wishes for you. I am very sorry your Majesty is put to such expense. If you will trust it to me I will undertake that in three years you shall have a revenue where now you have continual loss.

"Also your Majesty's father granted certain lands to my father O'Neill and to his son Matthew. Mat Kelly claims these lands of your Majesty. We have a saying among us Irishmen that 'whatsoever bull do chance to bull any cow in any kerragh, notwithstanding, the right owner of the cow shall have the calf and not the owner of the bull'. How can it be or how can it stand with natural reason that the said Matthew should inherit my father's

lands, and also inherit his own rightful father the smith's, and also his mother's lands which the said Matthew hath peaceably in possession?"

Sussex, despairing of conquering O'Neill in the field, determined to remove "the most dangerous person in Ireland" by other means than warfare. He decided to use the poisoned bowl or the dagger, as the following letter from him to the Queen proves. It is dated 24th August, 1561, and runs:—

"May it please your Highness,

"After conference had with Shane O'Neill's seneschal I entered talk with Neil Grey; and perceiving by him that he had little hope of Shane's conformity in anything, and that he therefore desired that he might be received to serve your Highness, for that he would no longer abide with him, and that if I would promise to receive him to your service he would do anything that I would command him, I sware him upon the Bible to keep secret that I should say unto him, and assured him if it were ever known during the time I had the government there, that besides the breach of his oath it should cost him his life. I used long circumstance in persuading him to serve you to benefit his country, and to procure assurance of living to him and his for ever by doing of that which he might easily do. He promised to do what I would. In fine I brake with him to kill Shane; and bound myself by my oath to see him have a hundred marks of land by the year to him and to his heirs for his reward. He seemed desirous to serve your Highness and to have the land, but fearful to do it doubting his own escape after with safety, which he confessed and promised to do by any means he might escaping with his life. What he will do I know not, but I assure your Highness he may do it without danger if he will. And if he will not do that he may in your service, then

will be done to him what others may. God send your Highness a good end.

"Your Highness's

"Most humble and faithful subject and servant,

"T. SUSSEX."

The Queen's opinion of this proposal, if she ever expressed it in writing—which is doubtful—is not discoverable. That she did not contemplate the committing of the proposed murder with aversion, or censure Lord Sussex, is proved by the fact that he was continued in office, and later he repeated the experiment on other lines, but was signally unsuccessful.

What the Lord-Lieutenant did not succeed in effecting by force was brought about through the mediation of the Earl of Kildare, whose family connection with O'Neill gave him considerable influence with that chief. The persuasions of Kildare were backed by a pressing letter of invitation from Elizabeth to Shane to repair to her Court, and this invitation Shane the Proud accepted on terms which implied that he was rather conferring a favour than receiving one. He demanded a safe-conduct so clearly worded that whatever the result of his visit he should be free to return; he required a complete amnesty for his past misdeeds; and he stipulated that Elizabeth should pay all expenses for himself and his retinue; the Earls of Ormonde, Desmond, and Kildare must receive him in state at Dundalk and escort him to Dublin; Kildare must accompany him to England; and, most important of all, Armagh Cathedral must be evacuated.

On these terms he was ready to go to England. When the terms were laid before the Council in London, they were accepted for "certain secret respects", and the prospect of having such a redoubtable chieftain in their power made

one of the members suggest that the terms of the safe-conduct might be evaded, and "that in Shane's absence from Ireland something might be cavilled against him or his for non-observing the covenants on his side; and so the pact being infringed the matter might be used as should be thought fit". Happily for the honour of England this vile proposal met with no approval from the Queen, who, after some slight hesitation, wrote to O'Neill accepting all his terms save the evacuation of the cathedral. Making a virtue of necessity Shane consented to this, saying at the same time that he did so solely to please Elizabeth, but that for "the Earl of Sussex he would not mollify one iota of his agreement".

Everything being now in order, the Ulster chieftain, leaving Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill in charge of Tyrone, set sail in December, 1551, from Dublin, with Kildare in attendance and accompanied by a guard of gallowglasse, and was received privately at the Lord Keeper's house, on the 2nd of January, by Cecil, Pembroke, and Bacon. O'Neill had received one thousand pounds already, and was now handed a second thousand; whereupon he remarked that two thousand pounds was a poor present from so great a queen. The enormity of his transgressions being pointed out to him, and an endeavour made to extract a promise that he would behave himself in future, he evasively responded that he hoped he would get a little more money. Seeing that it was waste of time to try to bargain with him, the Englishmen had to content themselves with Shane's assurance that he would confess in Irish and in English that his deeds were not what they should have been, whereupon preparations were made to receive him at Court.

Few scenes could be more picturesque than this visit of the great Ulster chieftain to the capital of his unknown sovereign. As he came striding down the streets of London on his way to

the Palace, attended by his train of gallowglasse armed with the battleaxe, his was indeed a figure to strike the imagination. Like the great golden eagle from far-off Donegal, when seen among homely surroundings, Shane the Proud impressed those who gazed at him as being indeed a king of men. He stalked into the Court, his saffron mantle sweeping round and round him, his hair curling on his back and clipped short below the eyes, which gleamed from under it with a grey lustre. Behind him followed his gallowglasse, their heads bare, their fair hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen vests dyed with saffron, with long and open sleeves, surcharged with shirts of mail which reached to their knees, a wolf-skin flung across their shoulders, and short, broad battle-axes in their hands.

The redoubtable chief had no reason to be dissatisfied with his reception. The Council, the peers, bishops, aldermen, dignitaries of all kinds, were present in state, and the assembly included ambassadors from the King of Sweden and the Duke of Savoy.

Approaching the throne O'Neill fell on his knees before Elizabeth, and from a scroll which had been inscribed at the dictation of Cecil, read aloud in Irish a submission couched in the following terms:—

"Oh! my most dread sovereign lady and Queen, like as I, Shane O'Neill, your Majesty's subject of your realm of Ireland, have of long desired to come into the presence of your Majesty to acknowledge my humble and bounden subjection, so am I now upon my knees by your gracious permission, and do most humbly acknowledge your Majesty to be my sovereign lady and Queen of England, France, and Ireland; and I do confess that for lack of civil education I have offended your Majesty and your laws, for the which I have required and obtained your Majesty's pardon. And for that I most humbly from the bottom of my heart thank your Majesty, and still do with all humbleness require the

continuance of the same; and I faithfully promise here before Almighty God and your Majesty, and in presence of all these your nobles, that I intend by God's grace to live hereafter in the obedience of your Majesty as a subject of your land of Ireland.

"And because this my speech being Irish is not well understanded, I have caused this my submission to be written in English and Irish, and thereto have set my hand and seal; and to these gentlemen my kinsmen and friends I most humbly beseech your Majesty to be merciful and gracious lady."

The submission having been duly made, Elizabeth motioned Shane to rise, "check'd with a glance the circle's smile", no doubt eyeing as she did so, with characteristic appreciation, the magnificent thews and sinews of this the most formidable of her vassals. Ignoring a suggestion from Sussex that she should give O'Neill a cool reception, or "show strangeness" to him, she received his submission very graciously, and listened favourably to the allegations by which he defended or palliated his conduct. He repeated his objections to the succession of Ferdoragh's issue, urged his own just claim to the sovereignty of Tyrone, both by the laws of England and the old Irish institutions; offered proof of his right and superiority over the neighbouring lords; pathetically referred to the injuries he had received and the desperate attempts made to destroy him; and lamented the iniquity of his enemies which had driven him to ensure his own security even at the risk of appearing to oppose her royal authority. He concluded with strong protestations of friendship and loyalty. Elizabeth appears to have been much impressed by the artlessness exhibited in his address, and dismissed him with presents and assurances of favour.

Shane now discovered that, notwithstanding his precautions, he had been outwitted in the wording of his safe-conduct. Although it was agreed that he should be permitted

to return to Ireland, the date of his return was not specified; and as it was deemed politic to detain him until matters in Ulster had become more settled, various pretexts were given for keeping the caged eagle in London, one being that he must await the arrival of the young Baron of Dungannon, who had been summoned to the English law courts to be heard in support of his cause. Duplicity was the order of the day, for not alone had Dungannon not been so summoned, but instructions had been given to prevent him from leaving Ireland.

O'Neill was at first unperturbed, and made good use of his time by writing flattering epistles to the Queen, telling her that she was the sole hope and refuge he possessed in the world; that in visiting England his chief desire had been to see that great queen whose fame was world-wide, and to study the methods of her government, so that he "might learn how better to order himself in civil polity". He begged her to give him his father's earldom, assuring her that if she did he would maintain her authority in Ulster, where she should be undisputed Queen over loyal subjects; he would drive away all her enemies; he would expel the Scots from Ireland who were friends of Mary Stuart. His audacity knew no bounds, for "he was most urgent that her Majesty would give him some noble English lady for a wife with augmentation of living suitable". It has never been suggested that in making this last request Shane the Proud was sounding the mind of the Maiden Queen in the modest manner which becomes the Irish gentleman. This is a matter that never can be settled, but Shane considered himself, although naturally he never said so, and despite the expressions of humility used in his submission, as quite the equal in social rank of Elizabeth. It is not a characteristic of manhood to beg the assistance of a woman when seeking a wife, unless the hope is entertained by the man that the woman whose aid towards matrimony is sought may, in giving the help

required, herself accept the position which it was proposed she should select another to fill. Shane had nothing to gain by the acquisition of any other "noble English lady", and therefore there could be no object in his thus begging the Queen to find him a wife, save to convey a covert proposal to Elizabeth herself, and in the case of rejection protect himself from being rebuffed. O'Neill has, at the hands of historians, been assailed with epithets of which the "adulterous, murdering scoundrel" of Froude is about the mildest. But if humanity of the time of Elizabeth must be judged by the standards of, say, Victoria, what were Sussex and Elizabeth when the latter did not demur at the suborning of Neil Grey to kill O'Neill? Shane appears to have got thoroughly into Elizabeth's good graces, which was fairly creditable for "a murdering scoundrel", and the Queen's suavity, coupled with the bearing of Shane the Proud, led the wits at Court to style the Irish Chieftain:

> O'Neill the Great, Lord of the North of Ireland;
> Cousin of St. Patrick. Friend of the Queen of England;
> Enemy of all the world beside.

Shane had been now three months in London, and yet nothing had been done, and he was pining to get back to Ulster. He was told that "the young Baron" was expected from Ireland daily, and other obstacles were put in the way of his departure. Finally he appealed to Elizabeth, "having no refuge nor succour to flee unto but only her Majesty"; he begged to be allowed to return to Ulster, where his presence was urgently needed, not alone because the Scots were "evil neighbours", but because his kinsmen were fickle. He added, however, with genuine courtliness, that if Her Majesty desired him to stay he was her slave—indeed, he would do all which she would have him do; and, evidently with the desire of being acceptable in the Queen's eyes, he asked that he might be allowed to attend on Lord Robert Cecil, "that

he might learn to ride after the English fashion, to run at the tilt, to hawk, to shoot, and use such other good exercises as the said good lord was most apt unto".

Elizabeth, though touched by this appeal, held for a little longer her unwilling guest in London. The Golden Eagle was not suffered yet awhile to return to his mountain home.

CHAPTER XXV

Shane again in Ulster

The Young Baron of Dungannon slain—Shane O'Neill returns to Ulster—He calls on the Ulster Chieftains to submit—O'Donnell and Maguire refuse—O'Neill attacks them—Sussex attempts to entrap him, but fails—The Ulster Chieftains complain of Shane's Conduct—Sussex again invades Ulster—Failure of the Expedition.

While O'Neill was fretting out his soul in London his deputy in Ulster, Turlogh Lynnagh, was looking after his own interests. Shane was right when he gave as a reason why he should return at once to Ireland that his kinsmen were fickle and his enemies many. The prolonged absence of Shane led Turlogh to entertain an ambition to be his successor, and proclaim himself "The O'Neill". But there was little use in doing this if Ferdoragh's son was to live; accordingly he set about his removal. The young Baron of Dungannon was waylaid in a wood near Carlingford, and fled for his life till he reached the bank of a deep river which he could not swim, and there he was slain.

Elizabeth had now no longer an excuse for detaining Shane; in fact it was dangerous to do so, for in Turlogh there might lurk as dangerous an antagonist as in Shane, and as "it is better to deal with the devil you know than the devil you don't", the Council decided, there being now no rival to dispute Shane's title to the earldom, to make terms with him and hasten his departure. On the 20th of April an indenture was signed by Elizabeth and himself, in which he bound himself to do military service and to take the oath of allegiance in the presence of the Deputy; while in return

he was allowed to remain Captain of Tyrone, with feudal jurisdiction over the northern counties. He undertook to reduce to obedience the Scots, the O'Neills of Clanaboy, the MacQuillans, and the O'Cahans, and to see that these chiefs took the oath of allegiance to the Queen. He was to aid the Deputy in his wars, and to permit the Queen's garrison to remain at Armagh. He was to levy no tribute, nor take pledges outside Tyrone, nor have in Tyrone itself any mercenary troops. The Pale, it was agreed, was no longer to be a sanctuary to any person whom he might demand as a malefactor. If any Irish lord or chief did him wrong, and the Deputy failed within twenty days to exact reparation, Shane might raise an army and levy war on his own account. Finally, he was to leave all matters of dispute with O'Donnell to a court of arbitration composed of the Earls of Kildare, Ormonde, Thomond, and Clanrickard; and all other controversies he was to refer to the Council at Dublin.

Shane having subscribed to these conditions, the Queen issued a proclamation that his submission was accepted, that in future he should be regarded as "a good natural subject". He returned to Ireland, arriving on the 26th May in Dublin, where he learned that Turlogh was setting himself up as chieftain of Tyrone; and to frustrate this treacherous act of his kinsman, Shane immediately caused proclamation to be made in the streets of the city regarding the recognition of his title by Elizabeth, and then he hastened to the north, where he was received in triumph by the men of Tyrone.

During his absence Sussex had been active. Calvagh O'Donnell had been ransomed from captivity by the Cinel Connel, and the Viceroy had marched through Tirconnell to restore to him his principal castles and strongholds. O'Donnell had remained loyal to the English, and this was his reward. But when Shane returned in triumph, and, summoning the northern chiefs about him, told them that "he had not gone to England to lose but to win", and that they

must submit to his rule, O'Donnell, thinking he would have the support of the Viceroy, refused allegiance to O'Neill. In this he was joined by Maguire of Fermanagh, and Shane, fearing that this spirit of revolt would spread, proceeded to plunder Maguire and laid waste his territory by repeated incursions. He also invaded Tirconnell, and would probably have devastated the whole district but that Calvagh repaired to Dublin to complain to the Lord-Lieutenant, and a truce was called to allow of negotiations for peace.

The Government charged O'Neill with bad faith, but Shane flung back the imputation, and with good reason, for the English do not appear to have kept any of their promises to him. He was then called upon to take the oath of allegiance in Dublin, and a safe-conduct was sent him, worded in ambiguous terms, so that on his coming he might, by twisting the words, be arrested. Shane declined the invitation (although Sussex advanced to Dundalk to meet him), stating that his duty to the Queen forbade him to leave his province in its present disturbed condition. Sussex then remembered that the See of Armagh was vacant, owing to the Catholic Primate having refused allegiance to Elizabeth, and sent down a *congé d'élire* for the appointment of "Mr. Adam Loftus". The reply received was "that the chapter there, whereof the greater part were Shane O'Neill's horsemen, were so sparkled and out of order, that they could by no means be assembled for the election". Sussex was in despair. O'Neill now proceeded to twit him with impossible proposals, and, these being declined, amused himself by assuring the somewhat dense and matter-of-fact Englishman that if he would take him for a brother-in-law their relations for the future might be improved. Sussex appears to have taken this statement in deadly earnest, and, seeing in the proposal a possibility of getting the chief into his power, replied that he had a sister living with him, and suggested that Shane should visit Dublin in order to see the lady. He said "that

he could not promise to give her against her will", but if Shane came to Dublin "he could see and speak with her, and that if he liked her and she him they should both have his goodwill". Shane no doubt laughed at the solemnity of this acceptance of a joke, and, doubting Sussex's intentions towards himself, he made enquiries, with the result that "he had advertisement out of the Pale that the lady was brought over only to entrap him, and if he came to the Deputy he should never return". This being the case he declined the invitation.

Sussex now wrote to Elizabeth that force must again be used, and stated that O'Neill was in correspondence with Mary Queen of Scots; had written to the Pope, and had employed his time while in London in establishing, through De Quadra, secret relations with Spain. "No greater danger", he wrote, "had ever been in Ireland," and he implored the Queen to act promptly. Being sensible of his own failures, he suggested that he should retire in favour of one better qualified than himself to carry on the work, not, he added, "from any want of will, for he would spend his last penny and his last drop of blood for her Majesty".

In the meantime complaints from the lesser Ulster chiefs regarding Shane's conduct increased and multiplied. Conn O'Donnell, son of Calvagh, wrote to the Queen a piteous letter stating that O'Neill had demanded the surrender of his castles; he had refused out of loyalty to England, and in consequence his farms were burnt, his cattle destroyed, and he himself was a ruined man. Maguire of Fermanagh complained to Sussex of the manner in which he had been left to the tender mercies of O'Neill. He stated that Shane had called upon him to submit, and that he had answered that he would not forsake the English till the English forsook him; "wherefore", he said, "I know well that within these four days the sayed Shane will come to dystroy me contrey except your Lordshypp will sette some remedy in the matter".

QUEEN ELIZABETH

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery. Artist unknown, but probably Marc Gheeraats.

Sussex, being asked what manner of man Conn O'Donnell was, replied: "This Conn is valiant, wise, much disposed of himself to civility, true of his word, speaketh and writeth very good English, and hath natural shamefastness in his face, which few of the wild Irish have, and is assuredly the likeliest plant that can grow in Ulster to graft a good subject on".

The situation was desperate. The Lord-Lieutenant was powerless, and matters grew from bad to worse. Shane, in order to overawe Maguire, overran his territory "with a great host" in vain; Maguire was adamant, "wherefore Shane bygan to wax mad and to cawsse his men to burn all his corn and howsses"; and Maguire had to take refuge with the remnant of his people in the islands on the lake. He once more appealed to Sussex: "Help me, your lordship," he cried, "I promes you, and you doo not sy the rather to Shane O'Nele is besynes, ye ar lyke to make hym the strongest man of all Erlond, for every man wyll take an exampull by me gratte lostys; take hyd to yourself by thymes, for he is lyke to have all the power from this place thill he come to the wallys of Gallway to rysse against you".

Elizabeth, wearied by the continued troubles in Ulster, and much worried by the great expense they entailed, and being much impressed by the statement that the position of things "was the most dangerous that had ever been in Ireland", consented to supply the means for another invasion. She, however, insisted on the Viceroy's carrying through the plans he had himself proposed whereby to crush Shane, and accordingly Sussex once more prepared for war. He joined hands with O'Donnell, O'Reilly, and Maguire; he induced Turlogh Lynnagh to take arms against Shane; he sought help from the Earls of Kildare, Ormonde, Thomond, and Clanrickard; and made a levy of two months' provisions for the army on the inhabitants of the Pale. Fresh stores

were thrown into Armagh, and the troops there increased to a number which could harass Tyrone through the winter. Meanwhile O'Donnell was encouraged to hold out, and Maguire to defend himself, Sussex promising to relieve them by the beginning of February.

Sussex, with all his preparations, accomplished little. He was unable to co-operate effectively with the Ulster chiefs; the inhabitants of the Pale protested against supplying the provisions needed, and swore "they would rather be hanged at their own doors" than comply. The pay of the soldiers was two months in arrear, and they became, in consequence, disaffected, disorganized, and mutinous. Kildare, who disliked the idea of attacking his kinsman, Shane, now induced Ormonde, and others who had pledged themselves to supply contingents, to join him in a declaration that they had changed their minds; and the increase of disappointments boded so ill for the expedition, that Sussex came to the conclusion that there was a conspiracy amongst the Irish Council "to keep O'Neill from falling".

Thus time passed and nothing was done. The aid promised in February to O'Donnell and Maguire was not forthcoming; they were still unrelieved, though it was now the beginning of April (1563). At last Sussex succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of Ormonde, and on the 6th, with but three weeks' provisions, he set out for the north at the head of a mixed force of Irish and English, ill-armed, ill-supplied, and lacking in confidence as well as in loyalty. The results of the movements of such an army can easily be foreseen. It was simply a case of St. Vitus's Dance—eternal activity without action. The report from the Viceroy to the Queen sums up a lamentable state of things. It runs as follows:—

"April 6. The army arrives at Armagh.

"April 8. We return to Newry to bring up stores and ammunition which had been left behind.

"April 11. We again advance to Armagh, where we remain waiting for the arrival of gallo glasse and kerne from the Pale.

"April 14. A letter from James M'Donnell, which we answer.

"April 15. The gallo glasse not coming, we go upon Shane's cattle, of which we take enough to serve us; we should have taken more if we had had gallo glasse.

"April 16. We return to Armagh.

"April 17, 18, 19. We wait for the gallo glasse. At last we send back to Dublin for them, and begin to fortify the churchyard.

"April 20. We write to M'Donnell, who will not come to us, notwithstanding his promise.

"April 21. We survey the Trough Mountains, said to be the strongest place in Ireland.

"April 22. We return to Armagh with the spoil taken, which would have been much greater if we had had gallo glasse, and because St. George's even forced me, her Majesty's lieutenant, to return to Divine Service that night.

"April 23 [St. George's Day]. Divine Service."

The three weeks' provisions being consumed by this time, it was necessary to fall back on the Pale; and if the farmers of the Pale continued to supply him with provisions, and he could obtain the much-required gallowglasse, Sussex hoped to accomplish something. He moved in the hope that the Scots would not assist Shane. At the same time he wrote in bitterness of spirit to Cecil, saying: "I have been commanded to the field, and I have not one penny of money; I must lead forth an army, and have no commission; I must continue in the field, and I see not how I shall be victualled; I must fortify, and have no working tools".

Matters were now worse than ever. The money supplied for the war was all spent, and in the Pale the Viceroy "could not get a man to serve the Queen, nor a peck of corn to feed

the army". As a forlorn hope he dashed wildly on a cattle-raiding expedition towards Clogher, feeding his men on the cattle seized, and laying waste the country. Finally he came to the conclusion that "the Englishry of the Pale" were secretly desirous that the rebellion should not be quelled, and he abandoned the expedition against Tyrone as being "but a Sisyphus' labour".

CHAPTER XXVI

Sussex *v.* Shane

The Lord-Lieutenancy of Sussex a Failure—The Proposal of Sir Thomas Cusack—Shane's Rule in Ulster—He annihilates the Scots of Antrim—Cusack and O'Neill sign Indentures at Benburb—An Attempt to poison Shane—Sir Nicholas Arnold—Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy—Death of James MacDonald—Shane invades Connaught—He declines to meet Sidney.

The Council in England, as well as that in Ireland, and even the Queen herself, now lost all faith in the capacity of Sussex to rule Ireland. His incompetency was manifest. A report that three hundred horses had been stolen made Cecil enquire the cause. The sanctimonious Viceroy replied that "the loss was true indeed". Being Easter-time, and he having travelled the week before and Easter Sunday till night, considered that he ought to devote Easter Monday to his devotions—during which some churls had stolen the horses.

The dangers which began to surround her at home and abroad now forced the Queen "to come to an end of the war of Ulster by agreement rather than by force". She was approached at an opportune moment by Sir Thomas Cusack, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with a scheme which immediately won her approval. The four provinces should constitute each a separate chieftainship. Leinster alone should remain in the hands of the Viceroy, whilst Ulster, Munster, and Connaught should be governed in the Queen's name by some Irish nobleman, who, if not elected by the people, should be chosen in compliance with their wishes. The north should be under the rule of O'Neill,

the west under that of O'Brien or Clanrickard, and the south should be given to Desmond. Cusack, who knew the country well, having surveyed it, undertook under these conditions that Ireland would be peaceable. Having obtained the Queen's consent to a trial of this mode of governing the country, Sir Thomas was given full authority to meet the wants and wishes of the Irish earls, in order to secure their co-operation.

In his own strong way Shane governed Ulster with such order that if a robbery were committed within his territory, he either caused the property to be restored, or reimbursed the loser out of his own treasury. While the east and west of Ireland were distracted with feuds, Ulster was comparatively peaceable and prosperous. Chiefs who did not choose to submit, and thereby made themselves objectionable to O'Neill, felt the weight of his arm, and that no doubt had not a little to do with the prevailing tranquillity. Froude, who looked on Shane as "an adulterous, murdering scoundrel", admits that at this time, "In O'Neill's county alone in Ireland were peasants prosperous, or life and property safe". Shane governed Ulster with a sort of rough justice, encouraging "all kinds of husbandry and the growing of wheat", and enforcing order in his own way. His position was that of an independent native prince. His case, as expressed by himself, was that "His ancestors were Kings of Ulster, and Ulster was his; with the sword he had won it, and with the sword he would keep it". His sword proved useful to England in his expeditions against the Hebridean Scots, who kept swarming into Ulster, and had, notwithstanding many defeats and losses, possessed themselves of several towns claimed by the English. He encountered, defeated, and slew their leader, gaining thereby a victory which greatly increased his power.

Negotiations were again opened, with the result that after an interview with Sir Thomas Cusack at Benburb, on

18th November, 1563, O'Neill wrote a formal apology to Elizabeth, and promised for the future to be Her Majesty's true and faithful servant. Indentures were drawn on the 17th of December, in which the Ulster sovereignty was transferred to him in everything but name. By these articles, in consideration of his becoming a faithful subject, he was constituted Governor of Tyrone, "in the same manner as other chiefs of the said nation, called O'Neles, had rightfully executed that office in the time of King Henry VIII". He was "to enjoy and have the name and title of O'Nele, with the like authority", as any other of his ancestors, "with the service and homage of all the lords and captains called Urraughts, and other nobles of the said people of O'Nele", upon condition "that he and his said nobles should truly and faithfully, from time to time, serve her Majesty, and where necessary wage war against all her enemies, in such manner as the Lord-Lieutenant for the time being should direct". The Queen's letters patent, in confirmation of these articles, expressed her entire approval of O'Neill's "present services", and the most favourable construction was taken of his former irregularities. This settlement for a while afforded Sussex an opportunity of attending to the regulation of disorders in other parts of Ireland. But as O'Neill still continued to drill and train his followers for the field, and to augment his forces, the Lord-Lieutenant felt bound to warn the Queen that O'Neill continued to nurse some designs against the Government. "Be not dismayed," replied Elizabeth; "tell my friends, if he arise, it will turn to their advantage; there will be estates for them who want; from me he must expect no further favour."

A further favour, however, came from Dublin in the shape of a present of wine to Shane, sent, it is said, by Sussex, but there is no proof of this. The wine was received with pleasure, and drunk by Shane and his guests with avidity. It was poisoned, and nearly proved a fatal draught

to both. The mystery remains such to this day. The dispatch of the wine was traced to one Thomas Smith, a wine merchant of Dublin, known to Sussex. The Queen, on receiving O'Neill's indignant appeal for immediate enquiry as to the perpetrator of the outrage, professed the loudest indignation. She directed Sir Thomas Cusack to look into the matter very closely; she begged Shane to produce every proof in his possession that might assist in the detection "both of the party himself and of all others that were any wise thereto consenting; to the intent none might escape that were parties thereunto of what condition soever the same should be". "We have given commandment", she wrote to Sussex, "to show you how much it grieveth us to think that any such horrible attempt should be used as is alleged by Shane O'Neill to have been attempted by Thomas Smith to kill him by poison; we doubt not but you have, as reason is, committed the said Smith to prison, and proceeded to the just trial thereof; for it behoveth us for all good and honourable respects to have the fault severely punished, and so we will and charge you". To Cusack she wrote: "We assure you the indignation which we conceive of this fact, being told with some probability by you, together with certain other causes of suspicion which O'Neill hath gathered, hath wrought no small effect in us to incline us to bear with divers things unorderly passed, and to trust to that which you have on his behalf promised hereafter in time to come".

After prolonged delay Smith was tried, and, after many denials, confessed his guilt, and took the entire responsibility on himself. He was thrown into prison, but was released after a time, Cusack having induced Shane "to forget the matter". Sir Thomas deemed silence on the subject the best policy, writing to Cecil that the less talk there was on the theme the better, "seeing there is no law to punish the offender other than by discretion in imprisonment, which O'Neill would little regard except the party might be executed

by death, and that the law doth not suffer. So as the matter being wisely pacified it were well done to leave it; therefore mine opinion is to enlarge him in the best way."

Towards the close of 1564 Sussex obtained his final recall from Ireland, where it must be admitted his unconciliating temper and personal animosities had rendered the duties of government exceedingly irksome. His immediate successor, Sir Nicholas Arnold, who was appointed "Lord Justice", was soon found incapable of governing, and it was decided to appoint Sir Henry Sidney as Lord Deputy. He had already filled the post with honour, was well acquainted with the country and the temper of the people, and upon his administration the most sanguine hopes were built. He had more sympathy with those whom he came to govern than had Arnold, who wrote to Cecil saying: "I am with all the wild Irish at the same point I am at with bears and bandogs; when I see them fight, so they fight earnestly indeed and tug each other well, I care not who has the worst".

As the years passed Shane's influence had been growing. He was undisputed sovereign of Ulster and "the only strong man in Ireland". His hatred of English ways as exemplified in the actions of Sussex was shown in the name he selected for a fort he built on an island in Lough Neagh, which he called "Foogh-ne-Gall", or "Hatred of Englishmen". Indeed, so intense grew his personal hatred of the Saxon that one of his followers, on the bare suspicion of being a spy for the Government, was hanged, and he condemned another to death for having degenerated so far as to be guilty of eating English biscuit. We must picture him at this time living at Foogh-ne-Gall, monarch of all he surveyed, with his 600 men-at-arms, who fed at his table (and who, no doubt, got their share of the 200 pipes of wine stored in the castle cellars), feeding daily, before he tasted meat, the poor at his gates, "saying it was meet to serve Christ first". His chaplain was Terence Daniel, whom he had installed as Primate at

Armagh, in opposition to the Queen, who had nominated Adam Loftus, and to the Pope, who had sent as Primate an old priest named Creagh. Shane's only anxiety in his rough-and-ready rule of his province was caused by the Scots of Antrim; but even the "Redshanks" he subdued, for in the spring of 1565 he came down suddenly upon them and broke them utterly to pieces. Six or seven hundred were killed in the field; James MacDonald and his brother, Sorley Boy (a name meaning "yellow-haired Charley"), were taken prisoners, which act, it may be said, for the time being swept the entire colony of Scots out of Ulster.

Such a deed as this would naturally commend Shane to Elizabeth, and it is therefore not surprising that no time was lost in communicating the facts to the Queen, including the more recent intelligence that James MacDonald had died of his wounds. Sir Thomas Cusack, in particular, saw prospects of his scheme of government being carried out, and strongly urged upon Elizabeth to meet Shane's wishes regarding the restoration of the earldom. His views were backed up by Arnold, who wrote: "If you use the opportunity to make O'Neill a good subject, he will hardly swerve hereafter. The Pale is poor and unable to defend itself. If he do fall out before the beginning of next summer there is neither outlaw, rebel, murderer, thief, nor any lewd or evil-disposed person — of whom God knoweth there is plenty swarming in every corner amongst the wild Irish, yea, and in our own border too—which would not join to do what mischief they might." Had O'Neill now remained quiet he might have had a powerful friend in Elizabeth, but he preferred to remain independent, and gratified his desire by seizing the castles of Newry and Dundrum, which belonged to the Queen. With an insatiable desire to recall "the days of old", when the O'Neills were Ardri or "Over-Kings" of Ireland, he now invaded Connaught "to require the tribute due of owld time to them that were kings in that realm".

The western chiefs bowed to his will, he overawed Clanrickard, devastated the O'Rourke country, and, driving before him 4000 head of cattle, he returned in triumph to Tyrone.

The outlook was one of blank dismay for those in authority. Clanrickard, who had felt the force of O'Neill's commands, wrote words of solemn warning on the subject to Sir William FitzWilliam, the Lord Justice. "Excuse me", he said, "for writing plainly what I think. I assure you it is an ill likelihood toward—that the realm if it be not speedily looked unto will be at a hazard to come as far out of her Majesty's hands as ever it was out of the hands of any of her predecessors. Look betimes to these things, or they will grow to a worse end."

Sir Henry Sidney arrived in Dublin in January, 1566. He came with great reluctance. "If the Queen would but grant him leave to serve her in England, or in any place in the world else saving Ireland, or to live private, it should be more joyous to him than to enjoy all the rest and to go thither." The problem which was left to him to solve was indeed a perplexing one. "In the matter of Ireland was found such an example as was not to be found again in any place; that a sovereign prince should be owner of such a kingdom, having no cause to fear the invasion of any foreign prince, neither having ever found the same invaded by any foreign power, neither having any power born or resident within that realm that denied or ever had directly or indirectly denied the Sovereignty of the Crown to belong to her Majesty: and yet, contrary to all other realms, the realm of Ireland had been and yet continued so chargeable to the Crown of England, and the revenues thereof so mean, and those which were, so decayed and so diminished, that great yearly treasures were carried out of the realm of England to satisfy the stipends of the officers and soldiers required for the governance of the same."

The old story of successive viceroys was repeated. Sidney,

if he went, wanted money to pay the outstanding debts. With money he must have men: 200 horse at least, and, say, 500 foot. He did not intend to burn his boats, but must have leave to return to Wales—of which he was President—when he so desired. These were claims so exorbitant that he hoped, by insisting on their fulfilment, to get out of the performance of a distasteful task. But in this he was disappointed.

On his arrival, Sidney found Shane O'Neill again in open hostility to England, and he at once wrote to him, requesting a meeting at Dundalk, to which he received a reply embodying "The causes and matters moving my people not to suffer me to come to the Lord Deputy's presence with such expedition as his Lordship requireth, with that happened within this twenty years, and in memory of the said O'Neill, the harms done by the Governors and others here within this realm of Ireland". O'Neill proceeds to relate the story of his father's having been created Earl of Tyrone, and gives it at great length. He concludes with a reference to the recent attempt on his life, and winds up by stating that his "timorous and mistrustful people" would not allow him to endanger his life by meeting the English Viceroy.

Sidney was naturally amazed. "In Ulster", he wrote, "there tyrannizeth the prince of pride; Lucifer was never more puffed up with pride and ambition than that O'Neill is; he is at present the only strong and rich man in Ireland, and he is the dangerousest man and most like to bring the whole estate of this land to subversion and subjugation, either to him or to some foreign prince, that ever was in Ireland."

The spectacle of the bears and bandogs tearing each other was soon again to be witnessed in Ulster.

CHAPTER XXVII

Sir Henry Sidney and Shane O'Neill

Shane allies himself to Argyll—Stukeley and Dowdall visit O'Neill—His defiant Attitude—Sidney applies to England for Men and Money—Shane appeals to France for help—Troops from England land at Lough Foyle and fortify Derry—Sidney marches North and sweeps the Country.

The undisputed Lord of Ulster now proceeded to further strengthen himself by espousing the cause of Mary Queen of Scots, whose successes won his ardent admiration and applause. He had offered to assist her against Argyll, and was much surprised to find that Argyll was willing to allow the Western Islanders to assist him in driving the English out of Ireland. This Argyll did to punish Elizabeth for her treachery to Murray. Shane, on the other hand, consented to permit the Scots to resettle in Antrim, and on Argyll's visiting him it was agreed to marry a son and daughter of James MacDonald (who had died in consequence of wounds received at Glenesk) to a daughter and son borne to Shane by his "Countess". Amenities were carried further, in that Argyll, in the Queen of Scots' interests, swore a pact with Shane O'Neill, thereby cementing a friendship for which the Ulster chieftain had hitherto long sued in vain.

In February, 1566, Sir Nicholas Bagenall reports that Clanrickard was spoiled by O'Neill, who now held all the countries from Sligo to Carrickfergus, and from thence to Carlingford, and from Carlingford to Drogheda; he had made a sure bond with Scotland. The Deputy had done all he could to bring Shane to quietness; had sent Stukeley

and Dowdall twice; but Shane would never come to any governor, as might be seen by his answer to Stukeley, which the Lord Deputy had sent by bearer.

The Commissioners found O'Neill, at first, "very flexible, but timorous to come to the Deputy, apprehending traitorous practices". But when the wine was in him, he spoke out. "I care not", he said, "to be made an earl, unless I may be better and higher than an earl; for I am in blood and power better than the best of them; and I will give place to none but my cousin of Kildare, for that he is of my house. You have made a wise earl of M'Carty More. I keep as good a man as he. For the Queen I confess she is my sovereign; but I never made peace with her but at her own seeking. Whom am I to trust? When I came unto the Earl of Sussex upon safe-conduct, he offered me the courtesy of a handlock. When I was with the Queen she said to me herself that I had, it was true, safe-conduct to come and go; but it was not said when I might go; and they kept me there until I had agreed to things so far against my honour and profit, that I would never perform them while I live. That made me make war; and if it were to do again, I would do it. My ancestors were kings of Ulster, and Ulster is mine, and shall be mine. O'Donnell shall never come into his country, nor Bagenall into Newry, nor Kildare into Dundrum or Lecale. They are now mine. With the sword I won them; with this sword I will keep them."

These be brave words, clearly proving that further negotiations were useless, and Sidney immediately resolved on war. "My Lord," he wrote to Leicester, "no Attila nor Totila, no Vandal or Goth that ever was, was more to be doubted for overrunning any part of Christendom than this man is for overrunning and spoiling of Ireland. If it be an angel of Heaven that will say that ever O'Neill will be a good subject till he be thoroughly chastised, believe him not, but think him a spirit of error. Surely if the Queen do not chastise

him in Ulster, he will chase all hers out of Ireland. Her Majesty must make up her mind to the expense, and chastise this cannibal. She must send money in such sort as I may pay the garrison throughout. The present soldiers, who are idle, treacherous, and incorrigible, must be changed. Better have no soldiers than those that are here now—and the wages must be paid. It must be done at last, and to do it at once will be a saving in the end. My dear Lord, press these things on the Queen. If I have not money, and O'Neill make war, I will not promise to encounter with him until he come to Dublin. Give me money, and though I have but 500 to his 4000, I will chase him out of the Pale in forty-eight hours. If I may not have it, for the love you bear me have me home again. I have great confidence in Lord Kildare. As to Sussex and Arnold, it is true that all things are in disorder and decay; but the fault was not with them—impute it to the iniquity of the times. These malicious people so hated Sussex as to ruin him, they would have ruined all." To Cecil, Sidney wrote: "Ireland would be no small loss to the English Crown, and it was never so like to be lost as now. O'Neill has already all Ulster, and if the French were eager about Calais, think what the Irish are to recover their whole island. I love no wars; but I had rather die than Ireland should be lost in my government."

To this urgent appeal, alas! "there lives no record of reply". A deaf ear was turned to the Lord Deputy's cry for money wherewith to carry on the great work he had in hand. Daily he was faced with the insolence of troops whom he was unable to pay, and whom he could not dismiss. Months passed in misery, without the desired relief being forthcoming. Driven to desperation by the silence and the unconcern manifested in London by those to whom he appealed, he again wrote to his brother-in-law, Leicester, saying: "My Lord, if I be not speedier advertised of her

Highness's pleasure than hitherto I have been, all will come to naught here, and before God and the world I will lay the fault on England, for there is none here. By force or by fair means the Queen may have anything that she will in this country if she will minister means accordingly, and with no great charge. If she will resolve of nothing, for her Majesty's advantage and for the benefit of this miserable country, persuade her Highness to withdraw me, and pay and discharge this garrison. As I am, and as this garrison is paid, I undo myself; the country is spoiled by the soldiers, and in no point defended. Help it, my Lord, for the honour of God one way or the other."

Letters from the Council came to hand two days later. In these they pleaded their innocence and laid the blame on the Queen. They had, themselves, they said, unanimously voted him money and supplies, "so much was every man's mind inclined to the extirpation of that proud rebel, Shane", but "the charge was the hindrance". The Queen agreed that "Shane should be extirpated", but "considering the great sums of money demanded and required of her in Ireland and elsewhere, she would be most glad that for reformation of the rebel any other way might be devised". Anxious that the cost of the war should be as small as possible, Elizabeth, at the risk of cruelly affronting a loyal and zealous servant, sent Sir Francis Knowles to control Sidney's expenditure, giving as her reason for so doing that "the cost of levying troops in England was four times as great as it used to be".

The delay in providing Sidney with men and money proved a boon to Shane, who had spent the last few months in preparation for war. He had come to the conclusion that nothing more could be obtained from Elizabeth by protestations of loyalty, his deeds in actively allying himself with her enemies, the partisans of Mary Queen of Scots, being, he felt, more potent than his words could

A When thus this thrice renowmed knight, hath captiue made and thrall,
The furious force of frantick foes, and troupe of rebells all,
When he by marshall feates of armes, hath nobly them subdude,
To Princes Dome: whose heapy wrath, their treasons haue renewde.
When he their glory and their pride, hath trampled in the dust,
And brought to naught which doe pursue, the bloudy rebells lust:

When he by conquest thus hath wonne, the honour of the field,
And fame vnto our Soueraygnes Courte, repoit thereof doth yeld
And to conclude when honor haue, his trauells to requight
Hath clothde him with eternall fame, meete for so great a knight
When all these thinges are done and past, then doth he backe reuart
To Dublyn: where he is received; with ioy on euery parte.

THE RECEPTION OF SIR HENRY SIDNEY AT DUBLIN BY THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN AFTER A VICTORY

From an illustration in Derrick's "Image of Ireland" (1581)

be. He now posed as the only protector of Catholicism in Ireland, and concluded that he must make an effort to impress the neighbouring chiefs by some act in evidence of his power and ability. He fortified Dundrum Castle with brass "artillery" and also his castle in Lifford, at the head of Lough Foyle. He proposed a new marriage scheme to Argyll, with whom his friendship became warmer. His unfortunate "Countess" was to be dispensed with, and he would marry the widow of James MacDonald. Desiring help from every quarter from which it was likely to come, he wrote in his regal style to Charles of France: "Your Majesty's father, King Henry, in times past required the Lords of Ireland to join with him against the heretic Saxon, the enemies of Almighty God, the enemies of the Holy Church of Rome, your Majesty's enemies and mine. God would not permit that alliance to be completed, notwithstanding the hatred borne to England by all of Irish blood, until your Majesty had become King in France, and I was Lord of Ireland. The time is come however when we all are confederates in a common bond to drive the invader from our shores; and we now beseech your Majesty to send us six thousand well-armed men. If you will grant our request there will soon be no Englishman left alive among us, and we will be your Majesty's subjects evermore. Help us, we implore you, to expel the heretics and schismatics and to bring back our country to the Holy Roman see."

This letter never reached the monarch to whom it was addressed. It fell into English hands. Elizabeth was perturbed by its contents, and, being impressed by Sussex, who was envious that a Deputy had been found who could rule Ireland better than had he, became suspicious of Sidney, and spoke to his disparagement. The word used being repeated to the Deputy, he wrote to the Queen, "declaring his special grief at hearing that he was fallen from her

favour", and "that she had given credit to that improbable slander raised upon him by the Earl of Sussex". Sick of the turn events were taking, and of a country he desired rather to live out of than to reside in, he urgently demanded his immediate recall, "that he might preserve the small remnant of his patrimony, already much diminished by his coming to Ireland".

The delays caused by the Queen's uncertainty, and the perilous outlook, caused Sidney much uneasiness. On the 3rd June, 1566, he wrote to Cecil saying: "I testify to God, to her Highness, and to you, that all the charge is lost that she is at with this manner of proceeding. O'Neill will be tyrant of all Ireland if he be not speedily withstood. He hath, as I hear, won the rest of O'Donnell's castles; he hath confederated with the Scots; he is now in Maguire's country. All this summer he will spend in Connaught; next winter in the English Pale. . . . I will give you all my land in Rutlandshire to get me leave to go into Hungary, and think myself bound to you while I live. I trust there to do my country some honour: here I do neither good to the Queen, to the country, nor myself."

At last things were set in motion. Troops from England, under the command of Colonel Randolph, sailed from Bristol for Lough Foyle, where they were landed at the head of the lake and moved up to Derry, where they entrenched themselves "in a very warlike manner". At Derry Randolph was joined by the Lord Deputy, who was accompanied by Kildare, the aged Calvagh O'Donnell, Shane Maguire, and O'Dogherty. On seeing the site chosen by Randolph, O'Donnell, O'Dogherty, and Kildare "agreed all of them that it was the very best spot in the northern counties to build a city". Leaving Randolph at Derry with 650 men, 350 pioneers, and provisions for two months, Sidney marched to Donegal, which he found a pile of ruins, in the midst of which arose "the largest and strongest castle which he had

seen in Ireland". It was in the possession of one of O'Donnell's kinsmen, who had been seduced to Shane's side by marriage with his sister. On the appearance of the old chief the castle was immediately surrendered. Sidney recommenced his triumphal march, and passed from Donegal, through Ballyshannon and Sligo, and across bogs and mountains from Mayo into Roscommon, taking castles as he went until he reached the Pale, and at the end of his journey was able to say that "there had not died of sickness but three persons", and also had the gratification of being in a position to state that "her Majesty's honour was re-established among the Irishry and grown to no small veneration". On his return the Lord Deputy was informed that during his absence Shane had invaded the Pale, but had been successfully resisted by the garrison which had been left in Dundalk under Sir Warham St. Leger, with a loss of 200 men.

The garrison of Derry was not only an obstacle to Shane's enterprises, but mortifying to his pride; and as it was a proof that his actions were being closely watched, and that his foes were on the alert, he determined to reconnoitre. Leading his forces to the walls of Derry, and without directly attacking the town, he insolently braved the garrison. Randolph, more spirited than cautious, issued from the town, and fell upon O'Neill's men, defeating them with great slaughter, nearly four hundred of the Irish being killed. Randolph, however, was himself slain, and the English at Derry were thus left without their commander.

Shane, unaccustomed to defeat, felt this reverse of fortune very keenly. He was, as a result of this, attacked on all sides, the Viceroy following up the dead Randolph's victory by invading the country north of Dundalk, burning farms and capturing castles as he went; and the Scots, freed from the controlling hand of Shane, crossed the River Bann and wasted all the adjoining countryside. Allaster MacDonald, a brother of the dead James and of the imprisoned Sorley

Boy, wreaked his vengeance on innocent women and children, and achieved a more tangible triumph in appropriating innumerable cattle. In December, 1566, Calvagh O'Donnell, filled with a fierce desire to requite Shane for all the sufferings he had endured in having his wife stolen from him, his country pillaged and devastated, and himself for years imprisoned, swept into Tyrone and laid waste all before him. But the fierce old man, who from a modern point of view was no aged saint, but a hoary-headed sinner who had himself imprisoned his father, was now a wreck, being accounted by Cusack as "but a poor creature without activity or manhood". Overcome by the sudden influx of good fortune after years of suffering, he succumbed, falling from his horse while leading his followers against his arch-enemy. He did not die, however, until he had implored his people to be loyal to Queen Elizabeth and to his son, Hugh, his successor. Hugh proved his own loyalty by immediately repairing to Derry and swearing allegiance to the Crown.

Finding that "when sorrows come they come not single spies but in battalions", Shane sought relief in letter-writing. He penned an eloquent and piteous appeal to Sidney for pardon and peace; but the Viceroy, sick of "words, words, words", did not even acknowledge his letter; Shane had gone too far, and "nothing was talked of but his extirpation by war only".

The days of Shane O'Neill the Great and Proud were numbered.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Death of Shane O'Neill

The "First Beginnings" of Derry—O'Neill writes to Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise—The Black Death in Derry—Hugh O'Donnell defeats O'Neill—Shane repairs to the Scots of Clanaboy, and is murdered—A Great Irishman.

Colonel Edward Randolph, whose untimely death left the garrison of Derry "a headless people", had proved himself a man of prudence, foresight, strength, and skill, qualities lacking in his followers, who, though none of them dared to assume the command, endeavoured hopelessly to fill his place. The dead commander had looked well after the troops, possessed as he was of that careful eye for detail that ensures success. His men did not lack even small creature comforts, for Randolph saw to it that they had "shirts, kerseys, canvas and leather" when they needed such things, and food and forage were forthcoming when required. Not alone did he look carefully after the commissariat, but he watched with zealous eyes the health of the troops, keeping them happily busy in building when they were not in the field, and they were therefore in good fighting trim. His men presented a great contrast to the idle, dissolute garrison of the Pale, of whom the Deputy had written "better have no soldiers than those that are here".

But Randolph, removed by a random shot, left no one to take his place, and disorder prevailed where order had hitherto reigned, and, no one taking the initiative, supplies fell short, and with lack of food and clothing disease crept in. In the cold and murky days of mid-November a mysterious malady

made its appearance and struck down the strongest. "The flux", a deadlier enemy than the Irish, "was reigning among them wonderfully," and decimated them with alarming rapidity. This dread disease had its origin in the fact that through some strange oversight the sleeping quarters had been built over the crypt of the ancient monastery, and the vapours from the charnel-house rose in the night and choked the slumbering soldiers. Christmas brought no relief. Supplies, intended for Derry, by a stupid blunder found their way to far-away Florida, and the melancholy story of the state of things is given by one who wrote in sadness of heart saying: "Many of our best men go away because there is none to stay them; many have died; God comfort us!"

But the new year (1567) brought better days, and Colonel St. Loo, who arrived with it, revived the drooping spirits of the soldiers by giving them an opportunity to have a brush with the enemy. He was so signally successful that 700 horses and 1000 cattle were secured after a few days' fierce fighting, and the Colonel was so well satisfied with the outlook that he wrote the Lord Deputy saying that had he but 300 more men "he could so hunt the rebel that ere May was past he should not show his face in Ulster".

The power of O'Neill, founded not upon a voluntary alliance of the chieftains of Ulster, but upon their compulsory subjection to the ruling house, began rapidly to break up. His followers, divided and dispirited, commenced to mutiny against a leader who no longer commanded success. Daily the Deputy's encircling forces closed around the unhappy Shane, while their ranks were swelled by deserters from his cause. He felt that his strength was ebbing, and no doubt much "as the trapped beast feels when he hears the trapper coming through the woods". Recognizing that he must seek help elsewhere than in his own land, he wrote to the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, begging them for the sake of their brother, the great Duke, to come to his aid. "Help

MAP OF IRELAND IN 1567

From a facsimile of a drawing made in 1567, preserved among the state papers of Queen Elizabeth in the Public Record Office, London. Contains additions in the handwriting of Sir William Cecil

us!" he cried, endeavouring to arouse their enthusiasm by a personal reference. "When I was in England I saw your noble brother the Marquis d'Elbœuf transfix two stags with a single arrow. If the Most Christian King will not help us, move the Pope to help us. I alone in this land sustain his cause." But, alas for Shane's cause! no help came from the Cardinals.

Help, however, came from an unlooked-for quarter, and in strange guise. The Black Death visited Derry and took hundreds that had escaped the flux, those who had successfully evaded the miasma of November now falling victims to even a more terrible disease in March, only 300 men out of 1100 being left in a fit condition to take the field. Men were raised in Liverpool and put on board the transports for Derry, but reconsideration resulted in cancellation of the orders, as it was felt that it would be folly to send them to certain death. Concluding that something must be done to save the remnant of the stricken garrison, the English Council now decided that it would be wiser to remove the colony to other quarters on the Bann, and this would have been done but that an unlooked-for occurrence upset the project. Fire came to finish the work commenced by the flux and Black Death. Starting in a blacksmith's forge, it raged through the rough wooden buildings which had been built in close proximity to each other for purposes of fortification, and, reaching the powder magazine, blew it up, and with it some thirty men. Their comrades, paralysed by this overwhelming stroke of ill fortune, decided to abandon the city to its fate, and getting into their provision boats, from which they watched the conquering flames, they sailed away from the scene of the conflagration. Such was the beginnings of Derry, a city destined in later years to be the scene of epoch-making events.

It was now May, the month which St. Loo had threatened should not end without witnessing Shane's expulsion from Ulster, and it was determined that the forces of the Deputy

should, with those of O'Donnell, make a joint movement to bring about O'Neill's overthrow. That indomitable chieftain had collected a motley army and invaded Tirconnell, crossing the estuary of the River Swilly at low water, near Letterkenny. He found Hugh O'Donnell encamped at Ardnagarry, on the north side of the river, with but a small body of men, and at once attacked him. The position of O'Donnell was for a moment desperate, but skilful generalship and enthusiasm made up for paucity in numerical strength, and the result to Shane's forces was appalling, for they were routed and fled panic-stricken towards the water, which during the fight had in returning covered the sands which earlier had afforded a ready passage. Plunging in they essayed to reach the other side, but, the waves being exceptionally strong, hundreds were drowned. O'Neill himself fled alone along the banks of the river westward to a ford at a little distance from Letterkenny, where he crossed under the guidance of a party of O'Donnell's men, by whom he could not have been recognized or he would have had short shrift. The Annalists aver that Shane's "reason and senses became deranged after this defeat".

Possibly overwrought by the sudden collapse of all on which he had prided himself, and "feeling himself all weakened, and beholding his declination and fall near at hand, he avowed and fully determined to come in disguised manner, for fear of intercepting, with a collar about his neck, to the presence of the Lord Deputy, and to submit himself as a most wretched man, hoping by that order of humility to" find "some mercy and grace" at the hands of the Queen. From this course the fallen King of Ulster was dissuaded by his secretary, Neil Mackever, who maintained that his cause was not yet quite lost, and urged the stricken man, for the sake of his mistress ("the Countess of Argyll"), who had been faithful to him throughout his varying fortunes, to seek refuge amongst the Scots of Clanaboy, taking with him, as a sop to Cerberus, his prisoner Sorley Boy, who was still in

durance at the castle of Foogh-ne-Gall. O'Neill consented, and "thereupon took his journey towards the Scots", accompanied by "the Countess" and Sorley Boy, and attended by his secretary and some fifty horsemen. Arriving on Saturday, the last day of May, at the sea-side camp of Allaster MacDonald and his nephew Gillespie, Shane entered Allaster's tent and craved his hospitality. His appearance had been unlooked for, but he was received with apparent friendship expressed in "a few dissembled gratulatory words".

At first all went well, the hatchet appeared to be buried, and for two days no gleam of resentment for past penalties inflicted by O'Neill seems to have been allowed to show itself; but on the evening of Monday, the 2nd of June, all "fell to quaffing and drinking of wine", and a quarrel over the cups took place. Gillespie MacDonald, "all inflamed with malice and desire of revenge for the death of his father and uncle, began to minister quarrelling talk to O'Neill, who took the same very hot, and after some reproachful words passed between them," Gillespie demanded of the secretary whether it was he who "had bruited abroad that the lady, his aunt, wife unto James M'Donnell, did offer to come out of Scotland into Ireland, to marry with O'Neill. The Secretary affirmed himself to be the author of that report, and said withal, that if his aunt were Queen of Scotland, she might be well contented to match herself with O'Neill; the other with that gave him the lie, and said that the lady, his aunt, was a woman of that honesty and reputation as would not take him, that was the betrayer and murderer of her worthy husband. O'Neill, giving ear to the talk, began to maintain his secretary's quarrell, and thereupon Gillespie withdrew himself out of the tent, and came abroad amongst his men, who forthwith raised a fray, and fell to the killing of O'Neill's men; and the Scots, as people thirsty of O'Neill's blood, for requiting the slaughter of their master and kinsfolk, assembled together in a throng, and thrust into the tent where O'Neill was, and there, with

their slaughter swords, hewed him to pieces, slew his secretary and all those who were with him, except a very few which escaped by their horses."

So perished Shane the Proud.

Allaster MacDonald "caused his mangled carcass to be carried into an old ruinous church near the camp, where, for lack of a better shroud, he was wrapt in a kerne's old shirt, and there miserably interred". Even there the remains of O'Neill found no rest, for we are told that "after being four days in earth" the body "was taken up by William Piers", captain of Knockfergus, who hacked off the head, which "was brought unto the Lord Deputy to Drogheda, the 21st day of June, 1567, and from thence carried into the city of Dublin, where it was bodied with a stake", and placed to bleach on the top of the castle.

Such was the end of one of the greatest figures in Irish history, a man whose name has been blackened by historians to such an extent that he has never been taken as the subject of the dramatist, or of the writer of romantic fiction, although his meteoric career would seem to lend itself, with its many dramatic episodes, to poetic treatment. Even George Darley, himself an Irishman, appears to have found in the story of Becket, and that of Ethelstan, more congenial themes for his pen than this purely Hibernian one. In the tragedy of Irish history no figure stands forth in such striking relief as does that of Shane O'Neill. Semi-savage as he was, he was nevertheless a great Irishman. There was a tender strain in the man of whom Campion tells us, that when "sitting at meate, before he put one morsell into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the dayly almes, and send it namely to some begger at his gate, saying it was meet to serve Christ first". Elizabeth, who was not prodigal of her favours, was impressed by Shane, the proof of which is "shown by her retaining towards him the same friendly bearing through all the strife, confusion, and—what, in her

eyes, was even still worse—lavish expenditure, of which he continued for several years to be the unceasing cause". She frequently discountenanced the hostile movements against him, and so well was her leniency towards him understood that, in 1566, Sir William FitzWilliam complained in a letter to Cecil that "the Council were not permitted to write the truth of O'Neill's evil doings". He was popular even in the Pale, for his generous and high spirit commanded the respect of both friends and foes. By the Irish he was affectionately styled *Shane an-diomais*, or Shane the Proud or Ambitious. He has been described as barbarous in his manners; but he held his own in the Court of Queen Elizabeth. He knew that his very existence was an insult to the English Government; he had great pretensions, and small means to carry them into execution; he was always involved in a net of intrigue and treachery; he had fierce passions, and had never learned to regulate them. But Shane must be judged by the ethical code of his own day—a day in which much was done with the sanction and even approval of the moralists, that to-day would be censured or condemned. If Shane imprisoned his enemy O'Donnell, and monopolized his wife, his action must be judged by the standard of morality which permitted a monarch to execute his wife in the morning and be married again immediately after the execution. If language seems to have aided him to conceal his thoughts, he was not the only sophister of his time, and, misleading as were many of the sentiments expressed in his letters to Elizabeth, they did not surpass in mendacity many of the Queen's assurances of love to her ever dear sister Mary of Scotland, nor those of Sussex when he agreed to give Shane his sister as wife. Had there been a United Ireland, Shane would have been unsubduable. He defied for years the forces of the great Queen, and would have continued to do so but for the action of his arch-enemy, O'Donnell, who thus affords another instance of the blindness

of the Irish to their own interests, otherwise it is impossible to account for the fact that they did not foresee that the ruin of Shane would in the long run be the prelude to their own. As Judge O'Connor Morris said: "They joined Sidney to destroy a great man of their race; for the idea of nationality did not exist in them; they could not look beyond their septs and their clans; they were still slaves of mere tribal discord".

The attainder of Shane O'Neill quickly followed his defeat. An Act was passed for the attainder and for the extinguishment of the name of O'Neill, and the entitling of the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors, to the County of Tyrone and to other countries and territories in Ulster. In a preamble to the Act, crimes of great enormity are placed to Shane's credit, and he is accused of being guilty of deeds of which we have ample evidence he was innocent. Turlogh Lynnagh O'Neill, to whom Shane, on the occasion of his visit to London, had left the charge of Tyrone, was placed in possession of parts of his lands, as he had proved himself on sundry occasions a friend of the English during Shane's wars. Turlogh was the son of Niall Culanagh, son of Art Oge, younger brother of Con Bacagh O'Neill, first Earl of Tyrone.

CHAPTER XXIX

Attempted Plantation

Cost of the War with O'Neill—Sidney's stern Rule—Turlough Lynnagh submits—Parliament at Dublin—Ulster made Shire-land—Peace in Ulster—The Plantation Spirit starts—Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, appointed President of Ulster—He petitions Elizabeth for Lands in Clanaboy, and sails for Carrickfergus.

The death of Shane O'Neill was followed by a short period of quietude, in which sweeping changes were made and the cost of the war with Shane ascertained. The figures must certainly have given the Queen, who was noted for her thrift, great uneasiness. From the Vth and VIth of Philip and Mary to the XVIth of Elizabeth, the expenditure of the Irish Government amounted to £490,779, 7*s.* 6¾*d.*, of which £120,000 represented the Irish receipts, and £370,779, 7*s.* 6¾*d.*, at the yearly average of £23,179, was transmitted from England. It is not strange that her ministers dreaded to approach the Queen on the subject of money for Ireland. She grudged every shilling which was expended in the government of the country, and was constantly requiring schemes from her deputies for the making of the Irish Government self-supporting.

The condition of the country was indeed serious. The state of Ulster was bad, but, as Sir Henry Sidney discovered on a visitation to the south and west, which he had now leisure to make, that of Munster and Connaught was appalling, many districts being so wasted by the war that they "had but one-twentieth part of their former population". The Earl

of Desmond he found to be "a man both devoid of judgment to govern and will to be ruled". In the territory of Ormonde he noted a "want of justice, judgment, and stoutness to execute", and Clanrickard "was so overruled by a pùtative wife as ofttimes when he best intendeth she forceth him to do the worst". The strength and wisdom of Sidney is seen in his denouncement of the "cowardly policy" that would rule the nation by sowing divisions among the people, or, as he himself expressed it, "by keeping them in continual dissension, for fear lest through their quiet might follow I wot not what"; and, he added, "so far hath that policy, or rather lack of policy, in keeping dissension among them, prevailed, as now, albeit all that are alive would become honest and live in quiet, yet are not left alive, in these two provinces, the twentieth person necessary to inhabit the same!"

It is not our province to follow Sir Henry into either Munster or Connaught, but his report is interesting as showing the general state of the country. Suffice it to say that he dealt so severely with the offenders that even Elizabeth became alarmed at the number of military executions which marked his progress; and, as she did not share his sentiments as expressed in his jubilant remark: "Down they go at every corner! and down, God willing, they shall go!" he sought permission to explain his conduct in person, and proceeded to England for that purpose in October, 1567, taking with him the Earl of Desmond and his brother John, and being also accompanied by Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, the O'Conor Sligo, and other Irish chieftains, the country being left in the charge of Lords Justices.

Sidney returned to Ireland in September, 1568, having been appointed Lord Deputy. He landed at Carrickfergus, where he received the submission of Turlogh Lynnagh, who, having assumed the title of O'Neill, was deemed to be guilty of an act of rebellion, and thus created the necessity for his re-submission to the Deputy.

A Parliament was summoned to meet in Dublin on the 17th of January, 1569, with the idea of formulating a scheme to fill the empty treasury by imposing a new duty on wines. Four days were spent in clamorous altercation; the discontented members "declaring with great violence" against receiving any Bill, or proceeding to any business, it being alleged that, with the view of packing the Commons, members had been returned by towns which were not incorporated, and that many sheriffs and mayors had returned themselves. So unsatisfactory did the executive find this Parliament, that for fourteen years another was not summoned.

On the 20th January, 1570, a concord and peace was made between the Queen and Turlogh Lynnagh, and the whole of Ulster was now made shire lands, and divided, in addition to the two old counties of Down and Antrim, into the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Monaghan. The county of Coleraine comprised the greater part of the present county of Londonderry, which, however, comprised part of the earlier county of Tyrone, and the liberties of the present city of Londonderry, which under the earlier arrangement were in the county of Donegal.

During these years, while Munster and Connaught were agitated by discord and rebellion, the state of Ulster was one of almost unbroken calm. Save for some obscure quarrel between the MacSweeneys of Tirconnell, no battle is recorded for nearly six years. The Government, evidently gratified by the death of Shane O'Neill, an event brought about by the battle-axes of the O'Donnells and the daggers of the MacDonalds, left the Ulster chieftains unmolested while the Deputy was visiting south and west. But nevertheless a strict watch was kept on their movements, and precautions were taken to prevent any joint action on their part against England.

Turlogh Lynnagh in particular was regarded with no favourable eye, and was held in great aversion by Fitz-

William, one of the Lords Justices, who wearied the English Council with his complaints regarding Turlogh's conduct, his treachery, insincerity, and pride, his friendship for the Scots, and his marriage with a Scotswoman. In 1569 he was reported to have engaged 1000 Scots, and of working "in the old manner of his lewd predecessors"; and it was added that the country was swarming with "Spanish flies and vermin". Irritated by a repetition of these baseless charges, Turlogh, who had been thanked by the Queen for his services against Shane, and been promised a title which he did not receive, broke out in revolt in 1569 and demanded all the rights his ancestors had ever enjoyed. He protested against any harm being done to Sorley Boy, and even evinced some intention of joining the southern insurgents; but an injury he received from the accidental explosion of a gun obliged him to remain inactive, and on his recovery he found himself deserted by many of his adherents, and therefore deemed it prudent to submit and sue for pardon.

Owing to the emptiness of the treasury, it was now determined to give a trial to Sussex's plan of governing the provinces by presidents, and a commencement was made in Connaught by the appointment of Sir Edward Fitton, a Judge of the Queen's Bench in Dublin, to the office of President, with a commission to execute martial law. This, however, ended disastrously and Fitton was recalled. The celebrated Sir John Perrot was appointed a little later to Munster, the Pale being reserved by the Deputy for himself. With this scheme there was also started a system of military colonization, by means of which it was hoped to reduce the expenses of governing the country. Accordingly in this spirit of plantation a portion of Shane O'Neill's territory which was held to have escheated was granted, for the founding of a Protestant colony, to one Thomas Chaterton, he and his heirs being granted a portion of the county of Armagh; and in the same year (1570) a grant of the district of Ardes

IRELAND

ABOUT 1570

The portion coloured red indicates the extent of Desmond influence; the portion coloured green, that of the Ormonde family.

and Clanaboy, in County Down, was made for the same purpose to the illegitimate son of Sir Thomas Smith, the Queen's Secretary of State. These plantations proved failures, the colonists being murdered by a sept of the O'Neills.

That the project of planting Ulster from England was present to the mind of Elizabeth even in the war of Shane O'Neill, is evident from the hints thrown out by her to the effect that the insurrection was all the better for the loyalists, as it would leave plenty of lands for them. She was prepared to grant to those who could deal with them "divers parts and parcels of Her Highness's earldom of Ulster that lay waste, or else were inhabited with a wicked, barbarous, and uncivil people; some Scottish, and some wild Irish, and such as lately had been rebellious to her". The Scots who had settled in Clanaboy under their chief, Sorley Boy MacDonald, were for a while countenanced by the English Government as useful allies in removing or crushing the native inhabitants, who, in order to be "humanized", were to be first despoiled of their ancestral lands; but that territory was now thrown open to a more favoured class of adventurers.

Walter Devereux, Lord Hereford, was one of the few peers who, in the Norfolk conspiracy, had been true throughout to the Queen. He had been employed by Elizabeth to take charge of the Queen of Scots, and had in other ways ingratiated himself with her. He was rewarded for his services in 1572 by the earldom of Essex. He was young, enthusiastic, and of a generous disposition, and he now sought to further please the Queen by devoting himself to securing for her some portion of Ireland, and desired "to employ himself in the service of her Majesty for the benefit of his country". Accordingly, having secured the co-operation of Lord Hunsdon, Sir Arthur Champernowne, Sir Thomas Wilford, Sir Arthur Bourchier, Sir Peter Carew, and others who had volunteered to take shares in the enterprise, and either accompany him to Ireland or send their

sons, Essex petitioned the Queen to grant him a moiety of the seigniories of "that part of Ulster called Clanaboy", which was represented by a line drawn from Belfast to the foot of Lough Neagh, and by the River Bann from Lough Neagh to the sea, provided he could expel the "rebels" there, any rights on the part of the native septs being wholly overlooked.

Essex, amongst other requirements, asked for permission "to build castles and forts", "to plant towns and incorporate them by charters", "power to make laws necessary for his government", "power to levy war upon the Irish", "to assemble forces", "to spoil, besiege, raze, or destroy the towns and castles of Irish outlaws", "to annoy them by fire and sword, or any manner of death", "to take to his use the goods and chattels of traitors, pirates, and felons, with all shipwrecks that should happen within his grant"; and, strangest request of all, "power to make slaves and to chain to ships and galleys all or any such of the Irishry or Scots Irish as should be condemned of treason, for the better furtherance of his enterprise". Sir William FitzWilliam, the Lord Justice, complained of the excessive power about to be conferred on Essex as incompatible with and subversive of his own authority, and it was accordingly arranged that the Earl should receive his commission from the Lord Deputy, to make it appear that he acted under him, and thus avoid that "foundation of Irish disturbances", an independent jurisdiction.

The petition being now in order, it was granted; the Queen making a grant to Essex of half the county of Antrim and the barony of Farney in Monaghan. She advanced a sum of £10,000, for the fitting out of the expedition, upon a mortgage of the Earl's English estates, and gave him the title of President of Ulster. An army of 1200 men was placed at his disposal, one-half to be provided and maintained at the Queen's expense, and the other half at that of the Earl;

every horseman who volunteered in the expedition was to receive 400 acres of land at *2d.* per acre, and every foot soldier 200 acres at a like rate; and Essex was to be commander-in-chief for seven years. So equipped, and everything being now ready, the young Earl of Essex and his companions set sail in the autumn of 1573, their destination being Carrickfergus.

Before he sailed, Essex had an interview with the Queen, which he himself described in a letter to Burleigh: "Upon the taking of my leave, she told me that she had two special things to advise me on: the one was, that I should have consideration of the Irish there, which she thought had become her disobedient subjects rather because she had not defended them from the force of the Scots than for any other cause. Her Majesty's opinion was, that upon my coming they would yield themselves good subjects, and therefore wished them to be well used. To this I answered, that I determined to deal with them as I found best for her service when I came there, and for the present I could not say what is best to be done; but Her Majesty should be sure that I should not imbrue my hands with more blood than the necessity of the case requireth. The other special matter was, that I would not seek too hastely to bring the people who have been trained up in another religion from that in which they have been brought up in. To this I answered that, for the present, I thought it best to learn them to know their allegiance to Her Majesty, and to yield her their due obedience, and after they had learned that they would be easily brought to be of good religion."

The voyagers little knew the land to which they were going in such high hope. True, Sir Peter Carew and one or two more of the company had some little experience of Ireland, but it was *terra incognita* to the vast majority. Its mountain fastnesses and shaggy woods were peopled by a half-savage race, eternally at war with each other, and prepared

to part with their lands only with their blood. No pathways or roads had been cut through the wild woods, where wolves still roamed at will, no attempt having been made to exterminate them. As Froude says: "The three southern provinces had been explored with tolerable care; but Ulster was a desert, heard of only as a battle-ground where the O'Donnells, the O'Neills, and the Red Shanks had murdered each other from time immemorial".

Such was the land which a light-hearted company of English youths had come prepared to apportion to their followers at "2*d.* per acre"! Their coming was prepared for; the Scots made an alliance with the O'Neills and Sir Brian MacPhelim, and a storm having dispersed the approaching fleet, the delay caused thereby gave time to the Scots and Irish to welcome the invaders with a bonfire consisting of the flaming towns of Down, Newry, and Knockfergus, so that on landing they should be without shelter or any comfort.

CHAPTER XXX

Essex in Ulster

The Earl of Essex and others land at Carrickfergus—Their Colonization Scheme a Failure—Essex appointed Governor of Ulster—The Severity of his Treatment of the Irish—Entraps Sir Brian MacPhelim and executes him—Massacres the Refugees on Rathlin Island—Sir Henry Sidney returns—Death of Essex.

Essex, on landing at Carrickfergus in August, had to await the arrival of the transports, which had been delayed by the storm, and thus much precious time was lost. He had at least one ally in Ulster, for Turlogh Lynnagh had entered into a treaty with him as far back as June, 1572, by which Turlogh promised the Queen to assist him against any person who should oppose her in Ulster; abandoned all claims over the followers of Clanaboy beyond the Bann; all superiority over the Baron of Dungannon's sons; and any persons dwelling between the great river [the Blackwater] and Dundalk; promised to serve the Queen against all persons upon whom she might make war; to endeavour to expel the Scots; to conduct himself peacefully against O'Donnell and all other faithful subjects of the Queen; and to deliver up as pledges his sons Arthur and another. In consideration of his submission, he was to receive of the Queen a grant of all lands from Lough Foyle to the Blackwater, and from the Bann to the Maguire country, with all the monastic lands in the province.

Essex commenced operations by issuing a proclamation that he had come to take possession of the forfeited lands

of Clanaboy, the Glyns, and the Route, but that he merely intended to expel the Scots and not to act with hostility to the Irish. Soon, however, the nature of the expedition becoming known, the Scots fled to their fastnesses at Red Bray. Turlogh Lynnagh, instead of giving Essex a welcome, sulked in his castle at Lough Neagh, and the only Irish chief that obeyed his summons was Sir Brian, son of Felim Baccagh O'Neill, who came in person and made submission on his knees, promising to be henceforth a loyal subject, and placing as a pledge of his fidelity 10,000 head of cattle at the President of Ulster's disposal. The cattle did not stay long in the new Governor's possession, for three days later they disappeared, and with them others that Essex had relied on for supplies. The troops were reduced to salt beef, and a little later were mutinous for want of food. Troubles multiplied. The season broke. It was now November—cold, wet, and stormy. The Irish took advantage of the distress of the English and attacked them, "never offering fight but upon great advantage", and flying to their secret fastnesses when pursued. The native race of Clanaboy, supported by Hugh O'Neill of Dungannon, and by Turlogh Lynnagh himself, rose in arms. Several conflicts ensued, and Essex soon found himself in an embarrassing position. Many of his men were not fit for the hard service on which they had entered, and some of his leaders, remembering "the delicacies of their own firesides", and "wanting resolute minds to endure travail", deserted. The soldiers deemed that, not being in the Queen's service, they "were free to leave if they pleased". Essex, on learning this, begged Elizabeth to "allow the army to appear hers", that he "might with better warrant at least punish mutiny and the base ignobility of the soldiers' minds".

Essex was now much changed from the man he had been when a few weeks earlier he had set out to search for Eldorado in Ireland. Misfortunes thickened. His meat supply failed.

He could get no bread. Horses in the damp November nights, without proper care and shelter, died. Famine, sickness, desertion, thinned his ranks, and three months after his landing, out of the 1200 men with whom he set out, he had but 200 left who could take the field. He applied to Fitz-William for assistance or advice, but got neither. Even his "men of Devon", he stated, "are the worst I ever saw. Mutinous in camp and cowardly in the field, when they see likelihood of work they begin to steal away. Some", he says, "I caught and hanged. The rest would rather starve than come to service. The gentlemen have sent me", he complained, "only such as they are glad to rid their country of. I am ashamed that England should breed such weak-hearted men as come hither."

The Earl now determined to abandon his quest, and, addressing the Council in December, told them he had come to the conclusion that "the war could only be carried on by the Governor of the realm, whom I would myself obey and serve as a private man". Essex, however, though he was ruined in fortune, bore his loss with equanimity and fortitude. Sir Thomas Wilford wrote of him and the Irish to Burleigh: "The Irish nation is more enraged", he said, "with the fury of desperation than ever I have known them heretofore. They suppose these wars are taken in hand by her Majesty's subjects and not by herself. They say they are no rebels, and do but defend their lands and goods. Our own people, through long peace in England, have lost the minds of soldiers, and are become weak in body to endure travail and miserable in mind to sustain the force of the enemy. And this, no question, doth grow of the fat delicate soil and long peace had in England, and therefore nothing more necessary for a prince that mindeth to keep his countries and dominions than sane exercise of war. This people begin to know their own force and strength, and have learnt the use and sorts of weapons, their places of strength and advantage, and

therefore high time to expulse them for fear of utter ruin to the whole. My Lord, it is not a subject's purse and countenance must do this. It must be her Majesty's only. It were the greatest pity in the world that so noble and worthy a man as this Earl should consume himself in this enterprise. I know and perceive he shooteth not at the gain and revenue of the matter, but rather the honour and credit of the cause. If her Majesty did know his noble and honourable intent, having a body of mind invincible to endure all miseries and extremities, so well as we do know him, she would not suffer him to quail for half the kingdom of Ireland."

When the failure of the expedition of Essex was admitted, the Queen, much annoyed, instructed him to settle his differences with the Irish chieftains, withdraw what forces he had left, and return to England. Recognizing that to obey such a command meant disgrace and ruin, Essex again begged for an appointment in Ireland under the Lord Deputy. His friends, indeed, urged that he should supersede FitzWilliam, but to this the Queen would not consent, and matters were compromised by Essex being made Governor of Ulster, with a direct commission from the Crown, while FitzWilliam was retained.

Essex, delighted that he was given another opportunity to serve Her Majesty, flung himself into his work with enthusiasm, and, getting some able men who had been trained for war in the Low Countries, he marched from Belfast into Clanaboy, and, attacking Sir Brian MacPhelim, made him write to the Queen a letter in which he implored mercy and acknowledged "that he had wickedly gone astray, and wandered in the wilderness like a blind beast". When this had been done, one would naturally think hostilities would cease. But it was not so in this case. Essex, spoilt by the run of bad luck he had had, and his own heavy losses in men and money, was now guilty of a deed which disgraces his

name. Hearing that Sir Brian had had a secret meeting with Turlogh Lynnagh and the Scots of Antrim, he returned to Clanaboy in a friendly manner and was hospitably received by the chief and his lady. A banquet was given in his honour, and later Sir Brian and Lady O'Neill accompanied their guest to Belfast Castle. Here a feast was held, and the festivities continued until late in the night. The O'Neills then retired to their quarters outside the walls, and a little later awoke to find the house in which they were lodged surrounded by soldiery, who were making efforts to break open the door. The retainers of Sir Brian, on hearing his calls for help, ran to defend him, but were outnumbered, and 200 "men, women, youths, and maidens" were cut to pieces. Froude, who gives this horrible tale in its mildest form, states that the sequel was the seizure of "3000 of Sir Brian's cattle, with a drove of stud mares, of which the choicest was sent as a present to FitzWilliam". The Four Masters state that "Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut in quarters". This horrible act of perfidy filled the Irish, as the Annalists add, with hatred and disgust for their foes.

But if it disgusted the Irish, it had a contrary effect on the Queen, who now told Essex that "he was a great ornament of her nobility; she wished she had many as ready as he to spend their lives and fortunes for the benefit of their country". Inflamed with a desire to win more such praise, Essex now turned into Antrim to deal with Sorley Boy MacDonald and the Scots. He attacked the Scots, who, after some skirmishing, got across the Bann, on which occasion the English had "the killing of them, swimming in the river over to Tyrone's side, both horsemen and footmen". After this, from the Earl's letter of the 22nd of July, 1575, it appears that Sorley Boy daily sued for peace, and to be suffered to enjoy the land, which he said had once been granted unto him in the time of Sussex's government; but

having no commission to deal with him, the Earl forbore to have anything to do in the matter.

Essex had, however, no compunction in dealing with other matters, and he was now to prove himself a "greater ornament" than ever, of Elizabeth's nobility. The island of Rathlin, to the north of Antrim, and difficult of access, had long been a stronghold of the Scots, and was fortified sufficiently to offer serious resistance. To this island, when Essex entered Antrim, Sorley Boy MacDonald and the other Scots had sent their wives and children, their aged, and their sick for safety. On his return journey it was ascertained that they were still on the island, and Essex now directed John Norris, the officer in command of the English garrison, to attack it. The order was quickly carried out, and the Scots on the island, surprised, surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared and that they should be allowed to return to Scotland. The conditions were refused, the English soldiers "being moved and much stirred with the loss of their fellows that were slain, and desirous of revenge, made request, or rather pressed to have the killing of them; which they did". Such was Essex's own account of the disgraceful deed, and he adds: "There were slain, which came out of the castle of all sorts, 200; and presently news is brought to me, out of Tyrone, that they be occupied still in killing, and have slain, that they have found hidden in caves and in cliffs of the sea, to the number of 300 or 400 more".

These 300 or 400 more consisted chiefly of mothers and infants, but Essex was unmoved, and nonchalantly wrote that Sorley Boy and the other chiefs had sent their wives and children into the island, "which be all taken and executed to the number of 600". Sorley Boy himself, he wrote, "stood upon the mainland of the Glynnes and saw the taking of the island, and was likely to have run mad for sorrow, tearing and tormenting himself, and saying that

he there lost all that ever he had". It is difficult to believe the fact that Elizabeth, on hearing this horrible story, bade Essex tell John Norris, "the executioner of his well-designed enterprise, that she would not be unmindful of his services".

Sir Henry Sidney was now persuaded to return to Ireland. Turlogh heard the news with much satisfaction, for "wretched Ireland needed not the sword". Sidney landed on the 12th of September, 1575, accompanied by his son, Philip, at Skerries, Dublin being avoided on account of the plague. He marched with 600 horse and foot against Sorley Boy and the Scots, who were just then besieging Carrickfergus; and having compelled them to submit, he received about the same time the submission of Turlogh and other Ulster chieftains. Con O'Donnell and Con, son of Niall Oge O'Neill, had, a little before, made their escape from Dublin, and the Lord Deputy sent a pardon to the former, showing his disapproval of the unjust treatment he had received from Essex. To Sorley Boy he restored, at his earnest entreaty, the island of Rathlin; possibly, as Froude suggests, to enable him to collect and bury his dead.

In September, 1576, the Earl of Essex, having set his affairs in order, died in Dublin, some say of poison, others of dysentery. Be that as it may, Lady Essex married, with indecent haste after her husband's death, the notorious Earl of Leicester. Two years later, Sidney, weary of an arduous and expensive task, left Ireland for ever.

CHAPTER XXXI

"Scotching" the Scot

Ulster at Rest—Hugh O'Donnell seeks Aid from Spain—A Succession of Viceroys—Sir John Perrot appointed Lord Deputy—Perrot's Popularity—Turlogh O'Neill's Friendliness—Sorley Boy and the Scots—Perrot marches against the Scots—A false Alarm—The Scots invade Ulster in force—Sorley Boy, defeated, flies to Scotland.

Ulster, which in Shane O'Neill's lifetime and in that of his father had occupied the stage and been in the full glare of the footlights, now retired for a season into humdrum respectability, suffering no doubt from "that dull stagnation of the soul—content". As some may assert with Walter Savage Landor that Ireland never was contented, we may point out that Ulster is referred to, not Ireland.

But the serenity of Ulster reigned only on the surface, for below, the fierce desire for freedom, though pent up, simmered and occasionally boiled over. Stirred to the depths by the horrors of Rathlin and the betrayal of Sir Brian MacPhelim, Hugh O'Donnell and Turlogh Lynnagh wrote in 1575–6 imploring help from Spain, and might have received some but that Philip was no longer enthusiastic on the subject of Ireland. The first messenger sent by the Irish chiefs to the King of Spain was caught by the English and hanged. The second, a friar, managed to make his way to Madrid and presented their petition. Something might have come of this, but Philip II was ever slow-moving; and O'Neill, getting tired of waiting, wrote to the Council suggesting that if he could get help from them to destroy the Scots in Antrim he would

suppress the enthusiasm of his wife (formerly Lady Agnes Campbell) for the cause of Mary Queen of Scots.

It must be remembered that during this period of comparative peace in Ulster the south and west were in a turmoil. Every ill that can result from feeble governing was flourishing, and massacres, murders, pillagings, burnings, and cattle-driving were the order of the day. Sidney himself, when paying his visitation, seemed to rejoice over the hangings and the drawing and quartering, the slaying by "pressing to death", as well as the more orthodox methods of execution. In executing at Kilkenny some thirty-six malefactors, he congratulated himself on the fact that some of them were "good ones"; and in hanging "a blackamoor and two witches" for treason, he remarks that he put them to death, "by natural law, for that he found no law to try them by in the realm". It is not strange that such severity encouraged rebellion. The yoke was too grievous to be borne. It is not necessary here to do more than mention the Desmond rebellion, and the picture arises before the eye of the student of Irish history of horrible and revolting and protracted conflicts.

From these we may turn to view events passing at the time in Ulster. As the most peaceful years that the province had known passed, the ruler of Ireland had been from time to time changed. Sidney, who departed in 1578, was succeeded by Sir William Drury as Lord Justice, who, dying in September, 1579, was succeeded by Sir William Pelham. In 1580 Lord Grey de Wilton was Lord Deputy, and in 1582 Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, and Sir Henry Wallop were Lord Justices. Their "love of justice" is seen in their carrying out of it before leaving office. In September, 1583, a priest named Hurley appeared in Drogheda, bringing with him letters of induction from the Pope, as Archbishop of Cashel. He was making his way to Kilkenny when he was seized, and on being searched secret letters were found on him. They were undirected but appeared to be addressed to

Catholics of the Pale. This was sufficient. The man must confess or be tortured into a confession; and tortured he was, the method adopted being "to toast his feet against the fire with hot boots" into which melted resin had been poured. Reflection on this deed, though painful, is somewhat, but not entirely, mitigated by recalling the fact that Hurley had been resident in Rome, and had been a member of the Inquisition. The hot boots searing the unfortunate young archbishop's conscience as well as his feet, he confessed, and it was decided to execute him. Therefore, on the 19th June, 1584, the Knight Marshal at Dublin received his warrant "to do execution upon him, which accordingly was performed, and thereby the realm rid of a pestilent member". Sir John Perrot, who arrived in time for the execution, had been appointed Lord Deputy in succession to Lord Grey de Wilton, and in taking office made a speech to the people in which he assured them that as "the natural-born subjects of her Majesty they were as dear to her as her own people".

Perrot, as President of Munster, was well known to be excessively harsh and unnecessarily cruel. His treatment of Donough O'Brien, a relative of the Earl of Thomond, may show the extent of his "tender mercies", as an exponent of the love of Elizabeth for the Irish. This O'Brien had been a disturber of the peace of Clare, and he was caught and imprisoned. By Perrot's orders he was released, only to be hanged from a cart. He was then taken down alive, and, with all his bones broken by blows from the back of an axe, hauled at the end of a rope up the steeple of Quin church, and left to rot at the summit. This refinement of cruelty puts Sidney's milder methods in the shade. Perrot's first step was to summon, on 26th of April, 1585, the earliest Parliament since that called by Sidney in 1569. By this Parliament two Acts of attainder were passed, under which the real and personal estate of nearly 150 knights and gentlemen became vested in the Crown.

Perrot, in spite of his cruelty, appears to have been popular. It is said that Turlogh Lynnagh showed his attachment to him by consenting to appear at his court on several occasions in English attire, a dress which he usually strongly objected to as tending to make him ridiculous; and he is reported to have jestingly said to the Deputy: "Prythee at least, my lord let my chaplain attend me in his Irish mantle, that so your English rabble may be directed from my uncouth figure and laugh at him". Turlogh was now old and in bad health. It had been proposed to give him an earldom, but, though twice promised, the title had not been bestowed lest it should make fresh divisions after his death. For the reversion there were several competitors, of whom the most important was Henry MacShane, the eldest legitimate son of Shane O'Neill. Turlogh, to make the problem more perplexing, married one of his daughters to the Baron of Dungannon, and at the same time strengthened his own hands by giving another daughter in marriage to a son of Sorley Boy MacDonald, the friendship of the Scots being thus secured. The Scots, certain of a friendly reception, now commenced to arrive in great numbers. This, being reported to Perrot, caused him great alarm. He determined to diminish their numbers and subdue them; accordingly he made preparations to such an extent as would enable him "to look through his fingers at Ulster as a fit receptacle for all the savage beasts of the land".

The Lord Deputy had in this expedition the assistance of the Earls of Ormonde and Thomond; Clanrickard also took a part, as did also Lord President Norris. He had with him 2000 trained men, besides Irish allies. The Scots were said to have double the number. Whatever may have been the cause of their arrival, whether to spy out the land or "their customary fetching of meat", they disappeared as suddenly as they came, taking with them 3000 cows from Tirconnell. And thus all the preparation for war proved needless.

The peacefulness of Ulster at this time is proved by the fact that Turlogh Lynnagh travelled to see Perrot at Newry without pardon or safe-conduct. The old chieftain came to beg the Deputy's aid against his own unruly family. Perrot, however, had other matters than family disputes to settle; his time was fully occupied in investing Dunluce Castle, which surrendered after a three days' siege. The Deputy now came to the conclusion that, if the Scottish incursion was for cattle, the removal of all cattle would be to remove a cause of temptation, and accordingly a cattle-raiding expedition was undertaken in which 50,000 cattle were collected. "He left no herds around Lough Neagh, this seer so provident."

But the cattle did not appease those who looked for greater results of this otherwise fruitless expedition, the cost of which was very heavy. The Queen was, in particular, very wroth, and wrote to Perrot saying: "Let us have no more such rash, unadvised journeys without good ground as your last journey in the North. We marvel that you hanged not such saucy an advertiser as he that made you believe so great a company was coming. I know you do nothing but with a good intention for my service, but yet take better heed ere you use us so again." The Deputy, whose ships had just failed to intercept the Scots at Lough Foyle, could only speak from report, but he still maintained that "they were in number little fewer, their training and furniture no worse, and their purpose no better" than that of which he still suspected them.

Perrot, having composed the private differences of the chieftains, now returned to Dublin, attended by Sorley Boy, leaving the government of the northern province in the hands of Turlogh O'Neill, Hugh, Baron of Dungannon, and Sir Henry Bagenal, whose family had obtained a considerable settlement in Ulster. Leland tells us that Sorley Boy, on entering Dublin, discovered that his son had been executed and his head displayed on a pike. The brave old man, on being taunted by a dweller in the Pale on the situation of his

son's head, is said to have replied: "My son hath many heads". Sorrows seem to have fallen thickly on Sorley Boy during his later years. He had lost in the massacre of Rathlin "all he had", and now, his son being dead, he had the additional pang of learning that the Lord Deputy had sent to Walsingham "Holy Collumkill's cross", "a God of great veneration", as the donor wrote, "with Sorley Boy and all Ulster;" the writer jestingly adding: "When you have made some sacrifice to him, according to the disposition you bear to idolatry, you may, if you please, bestow him upon my good Lady Walsingham or my Lady Sidney, to wear as a jewel of weight and bigness, and not of price and goodness, upon some solemn feast or triumph day at the Court."

The chiefs in Ulster were now loyal, and both trusted and respected Perrot, who, though sternly severe with those whom he considered traitors, was animated by a strong spirit of justice. He persuaded the chiefs to agree to pay an annual tax for the support of 1100 men in Ulster. An agreement was signed on 7th October, 1584, by which Turlogh offered to maintain 300 English foot soldiers at a stipulated rate, and to send Her Majesty yearly one good chief horse and one cast of hawks.

The extent of the lands once held by the Bissets, on which extinct family's possessions the MacDonalds based their claims in Ireland, was always uncertain, but it was now to be tested. After the fall of Dunluce, Perrot had agreed that Donnell Gorme MacDonald should have the lands in recognition of services done and in prospective. On the other hand, Donnell agreed to countenance none but Irish-born Scots; to register them and be responsible for their conduct. Sorley Boy, however, had not been satisfied; and when in September, 1584, the Earl of Argyll died, leaving his heir a minor, Sorley Boy immediately called a meeting of chiefs in Bute to support his Irish claims. Angus MacDonald at once prepared to meet him, and landed with 1300 Scots on

Rathlin, he having promises that more would follow. Sir Henry Bagenal in haste moved from Carrickfergus to oppose them. Some fighting took place, in which the Scots did not suffer much, and, additional men being required, Sir William Stanley arrived from Munster. He joined Bagenal at Ballycastle, which the Scots had threatened to burn, but an engagement in which the Scots were worsted led them to retreat northwards.

The Scots having evidently determined to invade Ulster in force, they made an attack on Ballycastle on 1st January, 1585, setting fire, as they had threatened to do, to the church in which the horses had been stabled, and after some sharp fighting, in which Stanley was wounded, they again withdrew. Reinforcements were sent for, although the outlook as to how they should be fed when they arrived was serious. The weather was bad and the coast line dangerous to vessels, "where the sea raiseth such a billow as can hardly be endured by the greatest ships. And scarce once in fourteen days those winter seas will suffer any small vessel to lay the ships aboard to unlade the victuals."

But the permanent garrisons which Norris had advised, and Perrot had established, won the day for the English; and Sorley Boy bethought himself, and, as he was growing old, submitted, and asked the same terms which ten years before Sidney had been willing to give. Perrot, however, was growing sick of Ireland, and he refused to consider the proposition. He gave peremptory orders which resulted in Sorley Boy's being hunted in such a fashion as made him flee to Scotland.

CHAPTER XXXII

The New Earl of Tyrone

Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, becomes Earl of Tyrone—State of the Army in Ulster—Tyrone and Sir Hugh O'Donnell—Hugh Roe O'Neill kidnapped by Perrot—Sorley Boy finally surrenders—Sir John Perrot gives up Office—Turlogh Lynnagh accompanies him to the boat, and sheds tears on his Departure—Death of Perrot in the Tower.

At a Parliament held in Dublin on 26th of April, 1585, Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, petitioned the House for the higher title of Earl of Tyrone, which had been conferred by patent on his grandfather, and had his claim allowed. The Lord Deputy now came north to quell another rising of the Scots, and, being in Ulster, he approved and confirmed a deed by which Turlogh Lynnagh handed over the southern half of Tyrone to the newly acknowledged Earl, reserving to himself the northern half.

Tyrone, on the other hand, was required to set apart 240 acres on the banks of the Blackwater for the erection of an English fort, not to exercise authority over the neighbouring chieftains, and to make sufficient provision for the sons of Shane O'Neill and Turlogh Lynnagh—Turlogh himself continuing, for the remainder of his life, to enjoy the title of Irish Chieftain of Tyrone, with right of superiority over Maguire and O'Kane. The newly acknowledged Earl was received with much enthusiasm, and the confidence reposed in him by the Government was such that his proposal to keep up a standing force of six companies of well-trained soldiers to preserve the peace of the north was gladly accepted.

The state of the army in Ulster at this time was the result of either lack of funds or parsimony amounting to madness. The army was literally naked, and many soldiers for sheer want took service with the Irish. The inevitable result of penurious measures was that, shortly after the Lord Deputy had returned to the Pale, the castle of Dunluce was again in the hands of the Scots. The castle had but fourteen defenders, the constable being one Peter Cary, a man of Ulster birth though of English blood. It is said he had a Scottish mistress; and possibly with her connivance, or at her request, ropes made of withes were let down at night by an Irish warder, and fifty Scots climbing them entered the castle. Cary, who had been ordered not to keep Irish warders, fought to the death, and thereby sacrificed the few men he had with him.

Such happenings in a recently subdued province do not tend to improve matters. The Earl of Tyrone viewed them with approval. It could scarcely be expected with such power thrown into his hands by English and Irish alike, and with frequent reminders of the traditions of his race and the wrongs of his oppressed country continually before his eyes, that Tyrone, the grandson of Con O'Neill, could stifle every impulse of heredity and tamely surrender his ambition. From time to time complaints reached the Council from minor chiefs, over whom Tyrone soon began to exercise his power more to his own aggrandizement than to their advancement. Turlogh and the sons of Shane O'Neill appealed against him. He kept up amicable relations with the Ulster Scots, and secured the friendship of the powerful and hitherto hostile sept of O'Kane by giving them the fosterage of his son.

All these circumstances caused uneasiness to the Government, which had lately suffered a considerable withdrawal of its numerical strength in the sending of over 1000 soldiers to serve the Queen in the Low Countries. The chief of Tirconnell, hitherto fairly steadfast in his loyalty, also exhibited

a growing spirit of independence in itself alarming. There was an intimacy between him and Tyrone which boded no good to the English. Tyrone had married a daughter of Sir Hugh O'Donnell, and the families were drawn together by friendly ties. O'Donnell refused to admit an English sheriff into his territory, and a mysterious traffic carried on between his remote shores and those of Spain was looked on with much disapproval in Dublin.

The course which the Government adopted to mend matters was curious. Perrot was himself responsible for the step taken. It was known that Hugh Roe, or the "red", the eldest son of Sir Hugh O'Donnell, was a youth of rare ability and aspiring mind, and it was resolved that the Council should get possession of this boy as a hostage. To accomplish this openly would, however, require a large army, and arouse the northern chiefs to resistance, so Sir John proposed a plan by which danger and expense could be avoided. In the winter of 1587 a vessel laden with Spanish wines was sent round from Dublin to the coast of Donegal, on the pretence of traffic and of having come direct from Spain. The commander was one John Bermingham, a Dublin merchant, and the crew consisted of fifty armed men. The vessel arrived with a favourable wind in Lough Swilly, and anchored opposite Rathmullen, a castle built by MacSweeny of Fanad, one of O'Donnell's commanders of gallowglasses. It having been previously ascertained that Hugh Roe was not far off with his foster-father, MacSweeny of the Battle-axes, a party of sailors landed, and while they pretended to sell their wine they took care to explore the country. The neighbouring people flocked to the shore, abundance of liquor was distributed amongst them; and when Hugh Roe came to MacSweeny's castle, and his host sent to the ship for wine, his messenger was informed that none remained for sale, but that if a few gentlemen came on board, all that was left would be willingly given them. The unsuspecting Irish chiefs fell

into the snare. Hugh Roe—who, though only fifteen years of age, was married—proceeded in a small boat to the ship, and was ushered with his friends into the cabin and served with wine until all became, as the Annalists state, "fuddled". Their arms were then stealthily removed, the hatches were clapped down, the cable cut, and the prize secured. An alarm was instantly raised and the people crowded from all quarters to the beach; but the ship was in deep water, and there were no boats by which she could be attacked. Hugh's foster-father rushed to the shore and offered any ransom; but none, of course, would be accepted. The guests who were not required were put on shore, and the ship sailed for Dublin. Thus this young chief of a sept always devoted to English interests was summarily carried off without any specific charge whatever.

On his arrival "the Lords Justices and the Council were delighted at his having come, although indeed it was not for love of him; and they commanded to have him brought before them. Having been according brought, they discoursed and conversed with him, scrutinizing and eliciting all the knowledge of him they could for a long time; then at length, however, they ordered him to be put in a strong stone castle which was in the city, where great numbers of the Milesians were in chains and captivity, as well as some of the Fionn Ghaill [Normans or English], whose chief subject of conversation, both by day and night, was complaining to each other of their injuries and troubles and treating of the prosecution carried on against the noble and high-born sons of Ireland in general."

Hugh Roe was kept a close prisoner for five years in the Bermingham Tower, Perrot refusing £2000 for his release.

The old chieftain, Sorley Boy, having fallen on evil days, now opened negotiations for peace, and he came to Dublin, having prepared the way for his visit by a penitent letter. He made a formal submission, prostrating himself before a

portrait of the Queen, admitting that he had no legal right in Ulster and lamenting his folly "in leaving such men in the Castle of Dunluce within this her Highness's land as should say they kept it in the name, and to the use of, the King of Scots, a Prince that honoureth her Majesty and embraceth her favour". His penitence served him well, for he was appointed Constable of Dunluce, upon giving up all claim to it, and henceforth was as loyal a servant as Perrot could desire.

The Lord Deputy, who was tired of the plotting and counter-plotting in Dublin, and had active enemies in Bagenal and Adam Loftus, now begged for the third or fourth time to be relieved of office. In addition to weariness he suffered much from ill-health: "The Irish ague took me," he wrote on one occasion, "that I was seven days like to die in Galway, and am not yet thoroughly recovered thereof, nor shall not (I believe) pass this next year, except her Majesty, of her great grace, give me license to go to the Spa the next spring; a suit that I made to her Highness nine years agone. It were better her Majesty preserved me to serve her in some other place, than I to be wilfully cast away here." To Leicester he pleaded pathetically: "Help your poor friend out of this hell".

At last Perrot's wish was granted. He left Ireland in 1588, presenting to the corporation of Dublin before he took his leave a silver-gilt bowl bearing his crest and arms, and having engraven on it the words *relinquo in pace.* On the occasion of his departure the streets were crowded with those who wished to bid him farewell, and the city sent a guard of honour to accompany him to his destination in Pembrokeshire.

Perrot was possibly, as has been stated by various authorities, a natural son of Henry VIII; the fact is of no importance, but, presuming the statement to be true, it must be said his ideas of government in Ireland were those of the

King; and if occasionally he displayed fits of temper and was exceedingly cruel, these very traits make his resemblance to his reputed father all the stronger. He extended the limits of English power, for he created seven new counties in Ulster. If this creation was to a great extent nominal, in other respects he almost exactly followed the best parts of the Irish policy of Henry VIII. The Parliament he summoned in 1585 resembled that of 1541, in that it was largely attended by Irish chiefs. The most striking feature of his conduct, however, and that which makes him most nearly resemble the King, was the settlement he effected of a large part of Connaught. Many of the chiefs of the province surrendered their lands and took them back to be held on English tenures. Perrot approved of and amplified the device of appointing presidents in the various provinces, and desired to establish sub-deputies with full administrative and executive power, and a judicial staff in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, who were to repress disorder and enforce the English law.

The duties of such an officer are thus stated:

"When the president is thus placed he must use great diligence in executing of justice, and see that every breach of order be punished with fines; he must also many times lie in camp, and call for the Irish captains of Ulster to attend him with their risings out, and so go from place to place as he shall see cause to execute justice, which shall breed the love of the people towards him, and shall keep all men in such fear of him as they will not be easily drawn into any conspiracy against him. For the more security he must use and discharge pledges at his pleasure.

"He must severely punish all offenders in capital crime within Tyrone; and *when any person having possessions shall be executed he must give the possession for a reward to some soldier*, reserving a rent to the Queen, and cause the country, with some help of money from the Queen, to build a castle upon that land in a fit place. Thus the Queen's possessions

will increase, the name of the O'Neills in short time decay, and English inhabitants step up in their places.

"For the defence of the country, he must cause certain castles to be builded upon the principal strengths and straights of the country, and bridges upon the principal rivers, which must be guarded by his own constables.

"He must go twice every year into every man's country under his rule to see justice administered to such as either cannot or dare not come to him to complain.

"His ordinary doings he must monthly advertise to the principal governor; and if any extraordinary matters of importance fell out, he must advertise with expedition, that speedy remedy may be provided. And for his better assistance it is convenient that the force of the county of Lowth should be at his discretion and order, and that he should have authority to execute martial law."

That Perrot was beloved in Ireland is beyond a doubt. Conspicuous in the great throng of noblemen and gentlemen who witnessed the departure of the ex-Deputy from the shores of the country which he had governed with wisdom, if also with a rod of iron, was the aged Turlogh O'Neill, who insisted on accompanying Perrot to the ship, and it is said that as the vessel which bore his friend away diminished in the distance, he shed tears "as if he had been beaten".

Perrot, though he had many friends, had also made for himself many enemies. He was a man of hasty, careless speech, and cared little whom he offended or what he said. Words innocent in themselves were twisted so as to bear strange meanings, and hasty actions were misconstrued. In the end he was imprisoned in the Tower, and although he, referring to his royal parentage, asked: "Will the Queen suffer *her brother* to be offered up a sacrifice to my skipping adversaries?" his skipping adversaries prevailed, and he died in the Tower in September, 1592.

CHAPTER XXXIII

State of Ulster: Civil and Military

FitzWilliam again Deputy—State of the Army—Violence and Greed of the Soldiery—Wretchedness of the People—Ulster as described by a Survivor of the Armada—An Avaricious, Cruel Viceroy—His Treacherous Conduct towards Two Ulster Chieftains—MacMahon is betrayed and judicially murdered by him.

Perrot was succeeded by Sir William FitzWilliam, who had filled the position of Deputy sixteen years previously, during an interval in Sidney's viceroyalty. At the date of his appointment (1588) the English Government apparently enjoyed an uncontested supremacy in Ireland, and the Irish seem to have temporarily laid aside any design of insurrection or hope of foreign succour. The Spaniards who, after the defeat of the Armada, were wrecked upon the western coasts were treated as enemies; the only Irish chief who received them as friends was transferred to London and executed. In Munster the natives had been crushed, and in Ulster the power of the O'Neills was paralysed.

The state of the army has already been referred to as disgraceful from an economic point of view; it now became outrageous from a political. The troops of this period were not restrained by a rigid discipline; they were accustomed to look upon plunder and free quarters as portion of their remuneration; their officers in money matters were not trained to a high standard of honour and honesty; the pay of privates was generally scandalously in arrear. Soldiers of this description were scattered in small detachments throughout the country with very little duty to perform, and living among

the Irish, whom they had been taught to despise as an inferior race. They looked upon the natives as their legitimate prey.

This is a picture of the times when the conduct of the troops became a subject of enquiry: "The horse companies, in passing through the Pale, every man hath double horses, some officers treble; each of them one boy, some of them two; travelling not four miles in the day—and that not directly, but crossing the country to and fro—wasting with their lingering journeys the inhabitants' corn excessively with their horses, and their goods with their extortion. The foot companies likewise observing the same course in travelling, most commonly not above two or three miles in the day, though their appointed garrisons be not ten miles off, yet do they go thirty miles about, being followed and accompanied as they go through the Pale, each soldier with his boy at least, and for a great part with their women, and many horses as well of their own as of the country, taken violently from their owners to carry them, their children, and women; pleasing themselves at their pleasures; exacting meat and drink far more than competent, and, commonly, money from them; their boys, women, and followers, much exceeding the people's ability, taking money for their officers after a double rate, whereof among every seven and eight soldiers they affirm commonly to have one.

"And if there be any wanting of a full company—as commonly in these journies, and all other cases tending to the country's charge, there be rather more than under, though at all other times far fewer than due—then are the numbers, which they report to be absent, said to be employed in necessary causes, and they which are present do oftentimes take up money for the diet of them pretended to be absent.

"And if they be not satisfied with meat and money according to their outrageous demands, then do they beat

their poor horses and their people, ransacking their houses, taking away cattle and goods of all sorts, not leaving so much as the tools and instruments that craftsmen do exercise their occupations withal, nor the garments to their backs, nor clothes to their beds; so as, at their next meeting places, there are to be found many times such plentiful store of household stuff, or what else they could carry or drive away with them, as at ordinary markets; which, if the owners did not redeem at the will of the takers, then are they sold and dispersed in such sort as they that owned them shall never come by them again.

"And if any do withstand or gainsay such their inordinate wills, then they do not only exercise all the cruelty they can against them, in far worse sort than before, in nature of a revenge, so as whosoever resisteth their will shall be sure to have nothing left him, if he can escape with his life.

"This course of ranging and extorting her silly people is become so common and gainful, as that many other soldiers (as is said) have no other entertainment from their captains; and many others that are not soldiers, pretending to be of some company or other, have, in like outrageous sort, ranged up and down the country, spoiling and robbing the subjects, as if they were rebels. And most certain it is that the rebels themselves, pretending to be soldiers, and knowing how gainful the course, have often played the like parts, unbeknown to the poor people, who live in such awe of the soldiers, as they dare not resist any that take upon them that profession. So as, of all sides, the poor subjects go so miserably to wreck, as no tongue or pen can at full express.

"At other times the garrisons oppress the inhabitants without cause, consuming wastefully and needless such provisions as people make for relief of themselves and their families, and in misusing of their persons, in such wise as the poor creatures, being thereby deprived of food and rest, together with the spoils of the rebels, are forced to forsake their houses,

which out of hand are plucked down, and the timber therefore burned in garrisons; which waste is made the more grievous that the inheritors or inhabitants of those waste places are forced to carry the timber of their houses to be burned; the soldiers leaving no trees, fruitful or otherwise, unspoiled; the planters and preservers, with heavy hearts, looking on their long labours and expectations thus defaced and brought to so uncomfortable an event.

"Many companies appointed to lie in garrisons, and victualled with your Highness's store, when the same is near at an end, and sometimes before, pretending want, and not procuring or having care of supply from your Highness's victualler, from whom they are to have the same, issue forth into the country where they list, taking beeves or what else they pretend to want, at their own pleasures, far exceeding any ordinary or competent portion, whereof some part they restore for money, and the rest use as they will, thinking all they do lawful, for they give their tickets, which many times they deny.

"And if the owners of the goods prefer to stay the same, as some have done, demanding by what authority or warrant their goods are thus violently taken from them, their common answer is that their drum and colours is a sufficient warrant. Then, if the owners seem not to be satisfied, they may be assaulted, and as vigorously used as if they were disobedient and disloyal subjects.

"Upon complaint exhibited unto the state for other the abuses of soldiers, proclamation was sent forth that in their thoroughfare, upon pain of death, they should not exact the country, but take such meat and drink as the inhabitants could afford them, giving ready money or their officers' tickets for the same; and if they did otherwise, then it should be lawful to sheriffs, justices of the peace, and others to apprehend and commit the soldiers so offending to the shire gaol, or failing thereof, to present their names, that they might

inflict such punishment on them as their misdemeanour and abuses did merit."

Such was the state of the army in Ireland at this period. When we reflect on the misery, poverty, and degradation of the inhabitants resulting from the rude licence given to a lawless and savage soldiery, the picture drawn of an Irish household at the same period does not appear to be painted in too squalid colours. Here is a vivid description of an Irish household as given by one of the survivors from a vessel belonging to the Armada wrecked in Donegal Bay:—

"The habit of those savages is to live like brutes in the mountains, which are very rugged in the part of Ireland where we were lost. They dwell in thatched cabins. The men are well-made, with good features, and as active as deer. They eat but one meal, and that late at night, oat-cake and butter being their usual food. They drink sour milk because they have nothing else, for they use no water, though they have the best in the world. At feasts it is their custom to eat half-cooked meat without bread or salt. Their dress matches themselves—tight breeches, and short loose jackets of very coarse texture; over all they wear blankets, and their hair comes over their eyes. They are great walkers and stand much work, and by continually fighting they keep the Queen's English soldiers out of their country, which is nothing but bogs for forty miles either way.

"Their great delight is robbing one another, so that no day passes without fighting, for whenever the people of one hamlet know that those of another possess cattle or other goods, they immediately make a night attack and kill each other. When the English garrisons find out who has lifted the most cattle, they come down on them, and they have but to retire to the mountains with their wives and herds, having no houses or furniture to lose.

"They sleep on the ground upon rushes full of water and ice. Most of the women are very pretty, but badly got up, for

they wear only a shift and a mantle, and a great linen cloth on the head, rolled over the brow. They are great workers and housewives in their way. These people call themselves Christians and say Mass. They follow the rule of the Roman Church, but most of their churches, monasteries, and hermitages are dismantled by the English soldiers, and by their local partisans, who are as bad as themselves.

"In short there is no order nor justice in the country, and everyone does that which is right in his own eyes. The savages are well affected to us Spaniards, because they realize that we are attacking the heretics and are their great enemies. If it was not for those natives who kept us as if belonging to themselves, not one of our people would have escaped. We owe them a good turn for that, though they were the first to rob and strip us when we were cast ashore."

Of the ships which belonged to the Armada the majority wrecked on the Irish coast were wrecked on the western side. Of those wrecked on the coast of Ulster three appear to have been lost in Donegal Bay, near Killybegs, and one in Lough Foyle. It is difficult to estimate the number of men who escaped being "drowned, killed, and taken", but, judging from the list of the ships and their crews, there must have been about 2000 alive in Donegal, and it is said that 500 Spaniards escaped from Ulster to Scotland, "miserable, ragged creatures, utterly spoiled by the Irishry".

A commission was issued by FitzWilliam to search for the treasure which these Spaniards were supposed to have brought; but none, of course, could be found, and the Deputy, not content with this result, resolved to visit the locality himself, "in hopes to finger some of it". He determined to deal very severely with those chiefs who had countenanced the Spaniards. Tyrone had done what he could for the unhappy wretches by sending them provisions. A thousand Spaniards, under an officer named Antonio de Léva, had found refuge with O'Rourke and MacSweeny of the Battle-axes, the foster-

father of young Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and were urged to recommence hostilities, but before doing so they determined to return for orders to Spain. The vessel on which they embarked went down with all on board within sight of the Irish coast.

The MacSweenys all helped the Spaniards, as also did O'Dogherty, while O'Rourke gave them arms. When they became aware of the Lord Deputy's approach they knew well the object of his visit, and sought safety, some by flight, some by putting on a bold front. O'Rourke and MacSweeny preferred not to meet FitzWilliam, but Sir John O'Dogherty came to meet him, and so did Sir John O'Gallagher. The result of this interview, about which there is some mystery, was that the Deputy seized these two chiefs ("two of the most loyal subjects in Ulster") and threw them into prison in Dublin castle. The latter died from the rigour of his imprisonment, and the former remained two years in captivity, and owed his liberation in the end to the payment of a large bribe to the corrupt Viceroy, who, on taking office, had solicited a reward for his services in his former administration, and had received an answer that "the position of an Irish Lord Deputy was an honourable one and should challenge no reward".

There is no doubt that FitzWilliam was both mean and avaricious, and it is equally true that he was cruel and treacherous. His action with regard to O'Gallagher and O'Dogherty set up a barrier of bitter hatred and distrust between the Irish and the Government, and further acts of a like nature intensified these feelings. One of these glaring acts of injustice was in connection with the estate of a Monaghan chieftain named Rossa MacMahon, who, having abandoned the principle of tanistry, and taken a re-grant of his territory from Elizabeth by English tenure, died without male issue. The dead chief's brother, Hugh Roe MacMahon, repaired to Dublin to have his claims as heir-at-law admitted.

His claim was perfectly legal, but nevertheless he found that a bribe to the venal Viceroy was necessary, and that the gift of 600 cattle would meet the case. On a point of difference, that some cows out of the number stipulated were missing, MacMahon was imprisoned; but when, later, matters were adjusted, and his claim to his brother's property admitted, he was released, and accompanied the Deputy to Monaghan, in order to get possession. Arrived in Monaghan, FitzWilliam had MacMahon suddenly arrested on a charge of treason, giving as his reason that, two years before, he had employed an armed force to recover rents due to him. MacMahon was tried by a jury composed of private soldiers, some of whom, being Irish, were imprisoned and kept without food until they agreed to see the merits of the case from the Deputy's point of view; while the English soldiers, having agreed to convict, were at liberty. The result was that, within two days of his arrest, the unfortunate MacMahon was tried, convicted, and hanged in front of his own door.

Nor was this all. FitzWilliam, who had come north in order to be free to deal with the case by martial law, now hastened to partition the vast estates of the murdered man. According to instructions with regard to the possessions of persons who were executed (see p. 250), the Lord Deputy sold a portion of the estates to Sir Henry Bagenal, the Marshal at Newry; MacMahon's chief residence and some lands became the property of Captain Henslowe, who was appointed seneschal; and the bulk of the property was, on payment of "a good fine underhand", divided amongst four of the MacMahon sept, subject to an annual rent to the Queen.

Such was law and justice in Ireland under the administration of FitzWilliam. Of course the Lord Deputy, when accused of acting corruptly in this case, denied the charge. "I did it", he said, "to the profit of her Majesty and good of this State, nothing regarding mine own private; I speak

it in the presence of God, by whom I hope to be saved . . . if ever there was such a motion or meaning for me, or for any of mine, let God wipe us all out of His Book." With which solemn declaration before us, we fear, at this distance of time, even the most sceptical must rest, if not content, at least prepared to say that possibly this is a case in which there were faults on both sides.

INDEX TO VOL. I

Absentees, 93, 99.
Act of Supremacy, 142, 148.
Adamnan, 17, 19.
Adrian IV, Pope, 20, 57.
Aedh, King of Ulster, 22.
Agricola, 19.
Aidan, King of the Dalriadans, 21, 22.
Alaric, King of the Visigoths, 5.
Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, 21.
Alen, Archbishop of Dublin, John, 123, 126, 127, 129.
Amlaff the Dane, 24.
Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, 33.
Annals of the Four Masters, 3.
Annals of Ulster, 38.
Antrim, 7, 36, 67–143, 144, 165.
Aquitaine, Henry II in, 41.
Ardee, battle of, 26, 37, 84, 131.
Ardes, 152.
Ardglass, battle of, 106.
Ardnagarry, 218.
Ardri, or Over-king, The, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 18, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 43, 46, 48, 50, 51, 61.
Ardsratha, Peace of, 119.
Argyll, the "Countess" of, 176, 207, 211, 218, 219.
— the Duke of, 207, 211, 243.
Arklow Head, 43.
Armagh, 23, 28, 30, 31, 37, 39, 56, 154, 165, 166, 177–80, 184, 192, 193, 196.
— Archbishopric of, 66, 111.
— Archdiocese of, 7, 11, 23, 24, 30, 66.
Arnold, Sir Nicholas, 203, 204, 209.
Arran, 144, 168.
Aryans, the, 2.
Athlone, 84–154.
Athol, Earl of, 77, 78, 83.
Athy, 85.
Augustine, St., 19.

Bacon, Lord, 185.
Bagenal, Sir Henry, 242, 244, 249, 259.
— Sir Nicholas, 207, 208.
Ballycastle, 244.
Ballymena, battle of, 84.
Ballyshannon, battle of, 80–213.
Bangor, sack of, 23.
Bann, River, 67, 84, 213, 228.
Bannockburn, battle of, 83.
Bannow Bay, 44.
Barry, Robert de, 44.
Basilia, sister of Strongbow, 62.
Battle of Moyrath, 23.
Becket, Thomas à, 57, 65, 220.
Bede, the Venerable, 7.
Belfast, castle of, 118, 228, 235.
Bellahoe, battle of Lake, 131–2, 134.
Bellingham, Sir Edward, 145–7, 150, 164.
Benburb, 200.
Benignus, St. Patrick's coadjutor, 7.
Bermingham, John, 247.
Birr Castle, siege of, 126.
"Black Rent", 100, 134, 138, 165.
Book of Acaill, The, 13.
Book of Armagh, The, 6.
Boru tribute, the, 4, 22, 29.
Boulogne, 143.
Bourchier, Sir Arthur, 227.
Boyne, the River, 2, 24.
Brabazon, Sir Wm., 147.
"Brass Money", 156.
Breffny, Earl of, 176, 195.
Brehons, the, 12, 13, 14.
Brereton, Sir Andrew, 150–2.
— Sir William, 130–3.
Brian Boru, King, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 41.
Bristol, 41, 59, 212.
Britain, 23.
Britannia, 5.
Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, 153, 154, 160.
Bruce, Edward, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 116.
— Robert the, 83, 85, 86.
Bryan, Sir Francis, 147.
Burgundy, Duchess of, 111.
Burke, the family of, 89.
— Walter, 91.
Burleigh, Lord, 229–33.
Bury, Professor, 6, 11.
Bute, 169.
Butler, Lord James, 130.
— Sir Edmund, 84, 85.

Cæsar, Julius, 19.
Cambridge, Earl of, 102.
Campbell, Lady Agnes, 239.
Carew, Sir John, 94.
— Sir Peter, 227, 229.
Carlingford, battle of Lough, 25, 73, 134, 191, 207.
Carlow, 98, 112.
Carlyle (quoted), Thomas, 51.
Carrickfergus, 73, 74, 75, 78, 83, 96, 164, 207, 224, 229, 231, 237, 244.
Carrick-on-Slaney, Castle of, 52.
Cary, Peter, 246.
Cashel, the Bishop-King of, 23, 25.
Castledermot, 97.
Castlefin fortress, 96.
Cavan invaded, 51, 179, 225.

Cecil, Lord Robert, 176, 179, 185, 186, 189, 197, 199, 202, 203, 209, 212, 221.
Celtic Romances, Joyce's, 5.
Celts, the, 2.
Champernowne, Sir Arthur, 227.
Chatterton, Thomas, 226.
Christianity into Ireland, introduction of, 6, 7.
Church, the Irish, 20, 38, 39, 43, 58, 66, 68, 142, 153.
Cimbalth, a lover of learning, 4.
Cinel Connel, 56, 57, 68, 77, 119, 122, 192.
Cinel Owen, 39, 40, 56, 57, 66, 68, 77, 118, 122.
Clanaboy, 118, 152, 165, 167, 228, 231, 232, 234, 235.
Clanrickard, Earl of, 115, 117, 121, 155, 178, 192, 195, 200, 205, 207, 224, 241.
Clare (see Strongbow), Richard de, 41.
Clarence, Lionel, Duke of, 93, 94, 96, 98, 102, 134, 175.
Classics in Irish schools, the, 21.
Claudian, the Roman poet, 5.
Clones, 77.
Clonmacnoise, 23, 24, 154.
Clontarf, battle of, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34.
Cogan, Richard de, 55.
Coleraine, 78, 225.
Columba, Saint, 8, 17, 18, 21, 22, 67.
Colum-cille, 39.
Comyn, John, 69.
Conall opposes Congal, 23.
Confession of St. Patrick, the, 6.
Congal, Prince, 22, 23.
Connaught, King of, 60, 77, 79.
— Province of, 35, 38, 61, 68, 130.
Convention of Drum-Ketta, 22.
Cork, 24, 151–2.
Cormac Ulphada, 4.
Cottrell, Sir John, 92.
Cowley, Walter, 134, 143, 146.
Coyne and Livery, 87, 104.
Criffan the Great, King, 5.
Crofts, Sir James, 147, 148, 154.
Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, 126, 148.
Cromwell, Thomas, 132, 142, 152.
Crovderg, King of Connaught, Cathal, 79.
Cuildrevne, battle of, 18.
Cusack, Sir James, 155.
— Sir Thomas, 199–200, 202, 204, 214.

Dal Cais, the, 34.
Dalcassians, the, 27, 31.
Dalriadans, the, 22.
D'Alton (quoted), Rev. Dr., 7.
Danes, the, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 45, 54.
Daniel, Terence, 203.
Davies, Sir John, 94, 95, 104.
De Bermingham, John, 86, 89.
De Braose, William, 72, 73, 74, 77.
De Burgh, Elizabeth, 134.
— Hubert, 79.
— John, 88.
— Richard, 79.
— Walter, 79.
— William, 79, 91.
— the "Red" Earl of Ulster, 79, 82, 84, 85, 88, 89.
— the "Brown" Earl of Ulster, 88, 89, 92, 93.
De Burghs (see Burke), the, 89.
De Cogan, Miles, 50, 53, 54, 55, 61, 64.
De Courcy, John, 59, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 80, 86.
— Jordan, 70.
De Culwick, Sir John, 86.
De Gray, Bishop of Norwich, John, 73, 74, 76, 77.
De Lacy, Hugh, 58, 59, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79.
— Walter, 72, 73, 78.
De la Poer, Sir Eustace, 92.
De Mandeville, Robt., 91.
De Marisco, Lord Deputy, 81.
De Maupas, Sir John, 86.
De Montmorency, Henry, 54, 62.
— Hervey, 44, 47.
De Prendergast, Maurice, 24, 46, 53.
De Wilton, Lord Grey, 239, 240.
De Windsor, Sir William, 94, 97.
Denmark, 29.
Derry, 17, 67, 77, 212–7, 225.
Desmond, Earl of, 92, 104, 122, 123, 137, 155, 178, 184, 200, 224.
— kingdom, 10, 34.
Devorgil, wife of O'Rourke, 36, 37.
Dichu, an Ulster chief, 7.
Domhnall, King, 22, 23.
Donough, son of Brian Boru, 34.
Dorset, Marquis of, 119.
Dowdall, George, 148, 149, 150, 153, 220.
Down, Bishop of, 66.
Downpatrick, 7, 11, 65, 66, 70.
Drogheda, 26, 65, 105, 112, 128, 131, 158, 207, 220.
Drumcliff, battle of, 81.
Drury, Sir William, 239.
Dubhtach, Chief Brehon, 13.
Dublin, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 35, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 59, 70, 128, 129, 130–1, 151, 157–8, 153–5, 169, 184, 185, 192–4, 220, 225, 235–7.
Dumbarton, 6, 11, 145.
Duncan of Carrick, 74, 77.
Dundalk, 7, 65, 73, 85, 86, 100, 162, 174, 184, 193, 206, 213.
Dundrum, castle of, 74, 119, 204, 208, 211.
Dungan, castle of, 36.
Dungannon, Baron of, 139, 146, 163, 165, 169, 172, 173, 175, 176, 182–7 (Ferdoragh).
— Brian, Baron of, 176, 188, 191.
— Hugh O'Neill, Baron of, 224, 232.
Dunluce Castle, 242, 246–9.
Dunraven (quoted), Lord, 10.

Earldom of Ulster, 71, 72, 79, 89.
Easter, computation of, 20.
Edward I, King of England, 83.
— II, King of England, 83.
— III, King of England, 89–102.
— IV, King of England, 107.
— VI, King of England, 144, 145, 153, 160, 161.
Elizabeth, Queen, 162, 169–251 *passim*.
England and Ireland, land connection between, 11.

Enna, son of Dermot McMurrough, 42, 43.
Essex, Lady, 237.
Essex, Walter Devereux, Earl of, 227, 229, 231–7.
Eva, daughter of Dermot McMurrough, 42, 49.

Feast of St. Martin, 58.
Fenni or Fenians, the, 5.
Ferns, palace of, 38, 41, 43, 45, 46.
Fid Dorcha (the Dark Wood), 38.
Field of the Cloth of Gold, 122.
Finian of Moville, St., 18.
Finn M'Cumhal, 5.
Firbolgs, the, 1, 2.
Fir-Li, 68.
Fitton, Sir Edward, 226.
FitzAudelin, Wm., 58, 64, 65, 67.
FitzEmpress, Henry, 113.
FitzGerald, David, 42.
— Gerald, 131, 145, 150.
— Maurice, 43, 45, 46, 48, 49, 80, 81.
— Miles, 44.
FitzHarding, Robert, 41.
FitzHenry, Meyler, 44.
FitzMaurice of Lixnau, 89.
FitzRonald, Alan, 77.
FitzSimon, Walter, 111.
FitzStephen, Robert, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 58, 64.
FitzWilliam, Sir Wm., 178, 179, 205, 221, 226, 228, 233–4, 252, 257, 258, 259.
Flodden Field, 120.
Fomorians, the, 1, 2.
"Foreigners", Anglo-Normans called, 75.
France, 28.
Francis I of France, King, 122.
Froude (quoted), James A., 75, 189, 200, 230, 235, 237.
Fuscard, Barony of, 89.

Galloway, Duncan, 71.
— Earl of, 77, 78, 83.
Gaul, 23.
Gibbon (quoted), Edward, 6.
Giraldus Cambrensis, 44, 45, 49, 65.
Gloucester, Earl of, 98.
Goodacre, Rev. Hugh, 155.
Goths, the, 3.
Gottred, King of Man, 52, 67, 68.
Grant, Sir Wm., 92.
Gray, Lord Leonard, 130–3.
Green (quoted), John Richard, 7.
Greencastle, 91.
Gregory the Great, 8.
Grey, Neil, 183–9.
— Sir Thomas, 102.
Gros, Raymond le, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 60, 62, 63, 64.
Gruffudd, Rhys ap, 42.

Haskulf, the Danish King, 50, 54, 55, 56.
Heber, King of Ancient Ireland, 4.
Hebrides, the, 50.
Henry II, King, 20, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 75, 175.
— IV, King, 99.
— V, King, 28, 99.
— VI, King, 99, 107.
— VII, King, 110, 111, 112.
— VIII, King, 117, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 132–8, 140–3, 146, 148, 152, 161, 173, 175, 249, 250.
Henry of Lancaster, 98.
Henslowe, Captain, 259.
Heremon, King of Ancient Ireland, 4.
Hertfort, Earl of, 140.
Hunsdon, Lord, 227.
Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, 239, 240.
Hy-Nialls, the, 9, 17, 39.

Imar the Dane, 24.
Innishowen, 77, 82, 119.
Iona, 18, 19.
Isle of Man, 50, 52, 67, 100,

James IV, King of Scotland, 114, 118.
John, King, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79.
John (Dominus Hiberniæ), Prince, 69, 70.
John the Wode, 54, 55.
Joyce's *Celtic Romances*, Dr. P. W., 5.

Kavanagh, Donnell, 44, 52.
Keating the historian, 2.
Kells, 98.
Kildare, 85.
Kildare, Earl of, Gerald the Great, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 122.
— Gerald, 9th Earl of, 118, 119, 120, 125, 128, 131, 184, 185, 192, 195, 196, 198, 208.
— Earls of, 89.
Kilkenny, Statute of, 94, 101, 113.
— the city of, 98, 126, 239.
Kimbaoth, King of Ulster, 4.
King's County, 9.
Knockdoe, battle of, 115.
Knockfergus, 165, 220, 230.
Knowles, Sir Francis, 210.

Laeghaire, 8, 13.
"Laudabiliter", the Pope's Bull, 20, 41.
Lawless, Hon. Emily, 1, 15, 26.
Learning in Ireland, 21.
Lecale, 73, 150, 155, 165, 208.
Lecky, Rt. Hon. W. E. H., 10.
Legacy of Past Years, Dunraven's, 10.
Leicester, Earl of, 208, 209, 237, 249.
Leinster, King of, 22, 27, 29, 31, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48, 97.
— Province of, 9, 29, 35, 37, 40, 41, 43, 46, 48, 51, 52, 58, 59.
Leland the historian, Dr., 3.
Lewis of France, King, 60.
Liffey, River, 30.
Limerick, 24, 117, 158.
Lisle, Viscount, 140–1.
Lismore, 60.
Loftus, Adam, 193, 204, 239, 249.
Longford, 9, 12, 85.
Lough Foyle, 26, 77.
Lough Seudy, 85.
Lough Swilly, 77, 81.
Louth, Earl of, 86, 126.

MacCarthy, King of Desmond, Dermot, 63.
— of Carbery, 109.
MacDonald, Alexander, 121.
— Allaster, 213, 219, 220.
— Gillespie, 219.
— James, 168, 176, 177, 197, 204, 207, 211, 219.
— Sorley Boy, 204, 213, 214, 218, 219, 226–7, 235, 236, 237, 241–4, 248.

MacDonalds of Antrim, the, 147–68.
— of the Hebrides, the, 147.
— of the Isles, the, 164.
MacDunlevy, Eochy, 37, 38.
— Rory, 66, 67, 68.
MacGeoghegan of Westmeath, 105.
— the Abbé, 1.
MacGillamocholmog, 54, 55.
Mackeer, Neil, 218, 219, 220.
Mackintosh, Sir James, 20.
Macligh the historian, 26.
Maclise, Daniel, 49.
MacMahon, Hugh Oge, 112.
— of Louth, 105.
McMurrough, Art, 96, 97.
— (son of above), Art, 97, 98.
— Dermot, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 96.
— Donald, 105.
— Donough, 35.
— Enna, 35.
— Murtagh, 52.
McMurroughs, Kings of Leinster, 9.
MacPhelim, Sir Brian, 230, 232, 234, 235, 238.
MacSweeny of Farral, 247, 257.
Maghera, 80.
Maine, Sir Henry, 15.
Malachy, King, 1, 25.
— II, King, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.
Mary Queen of Scots, 145, 177, 188, 194, 207, 210, 227, 239.
— of England, Queen, 161, 164, 168, 169, 176.
Matilda, Queen, 41.
Meath, kingdom of, 9, 35, 37, 38, 43, 50, 51, 59.
— Bishop of, 111.
— King of, 56.
Mellifont, 37.
Mey, John, Archbishop of Armagh, 106.
Milcho, St. Patrick slave to, 6, 7.
Milesians, the, 2, 3.
Milesius, the famous, 4.
Milford Haven, 48.
Monaghan, 37, 131.
Moore, Thomas, 27.
Morrough, son of Brian Boru, 30.
Mortimer, Edmond, 100.
— Roger, 85, 96, 89.
Moville, 82.
Muirchertach, Prince, 26.
Munster, King of, 27.
— Province of, 9, 10, 35, 60.

Nemedians, the, 1.
Niall Glundubh, Prince, 26.
Niall, leader of the Scoti, 2, 6.
— of the Nine Hostages, 5, 8.
— succeeds Criftan the Great, 5.
— the royal house of, 31.
Normans, the, 34, 39.
Norris, John, 236, 237, 244.
Norsemen, the, 23, 25, 26, 49.
Northampton, battle of, 107.
Northumberland, Duke of, 141, 154, 157, 106.
Norway, 29.
— King of, 54.
"Nose Money", 24.

O'Brien, King of Thomond, Donnell, 35, 47, 48, 53, 62, 79.
— the royal Dalcassian race of, 27.
— Murtagh, 35.
O'Briens, Kings of Munster, the, 9–130.
O'Cannannan, Rory, 80.
O'Carroll, King of Uriel, Donough, 38, 67, 70.
O'Clery, Michael, 3.
O'Conn, King Cormac, 5.
O'Connor-Morris (quoted), Judge, 14.
O'Conor, Conor, 35, 46.
— Felim, 82, 83, 84.
— King of Offally, 109.
— Murrough, 61.
— Roderick, 32, 35, 37, 38, 40, 43, 46, 47, 50, 52, 57, 58, 60, 61, 75.
— Roe, 114.
— Turlogh, 35, 36, 37, 51, 91.
O'Conors, Kings of Connaught, 9.
O'Curry, Eugene, 13.
O'Dogherty of Innishowen, 108, 149, 258.
O'Donnell, Calvagh, 146, 165, 167, 168, 176, 177, 192, 193, 212, 214.
— Con, 194–6, 208, 237.
— Donald Oge, 80, 81, 82, 88.
— Godfrey, 80, 81.
— Hugh, Sir, 214, 218, 238, 247.
— Hugh Boy, 127–67.
O'Donnell, Hugh Oge, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122.
— Hugh Roe, 114, 115, 116, 117, 247, 248, 258.
— Manus, 121, 122, 126, 127, 131, 134, 136, 141, 145, 146, 150, 165, 167, 168.
— Naghtan, 100, 108.
— Niall Garv, 100, 108, 116, 127.
— Rory, 108.
O'Donovan the historian, John, 13.
O'Flynn, Cumee, 67, 68, 70.
O'Garvy, Aulaff, 52.
O'Kervellan, 139.
O'Kinselagh, 36, 38.
O'Loughlin, King of Cinel Owen, Conor, 51.
— Donald, 31, 68, 80.
— Murtagh, 32, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 57.
— Niall, 35, 57.
O'Mahony, Lord of Fermanagh, 70.
O'Melaghlin, Dermot, 40.
— Donough, 38.
— Murrough, 36.
O'Neill, King of Cinel Owen, Aedh, 57, 75, 76, 77, 78.
— Art, 119.
— Brian, 80, 81, 82, 86.
— (1st Earl of Tyrone), Con Bacagh, 109, 111, 114, 120, 122, 126, 127, 131, 134, 138, 140, 141, 143, 146, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 161, 166, 169, 173, 175, 182, 246.
— Donald, 83, 84.
— Donnell, 114.
— Flaherty, 29, 31.
— Henry, 109, 111.
— Henry Oge, 114, 115.
— Hugh, 80–138, 163, 224, 232.
— Hugh Boy, 89, 127, 167.
— John Boy, 115.
— Melaghlin, 66.
— Nial, 82, 222.
— Nial Garv, 127.
— Nial Oge, 123.
— Shane, 161, 162, 163, 165, 167, 168, 169, 172, 180, 189, 191, 200, 201, 220, 221, 241, 245, 246.
— Turlogh Lynnagh, 115, 185, 191, 192, 195, 222, 224, 225, 226, 231, 232, 235, 237, 238, 241, 246, 251.
O'Neills, the, 27, 28, 147, 165.

O'Neills, of Clanaboy, 89, 152, 168, 169, 192.
O'Phelan, Prince of Decies, Melaghlin, 49.
O'Reilly, John, 112.
O'Reilly of Breffny, 52.
O'Rorke of Breffny, 29.
O'Rourke, Tiernan, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 50, 51, 59.
O'Toole, Laurence, 50.
Oirghialla of Uriel, the, 56.
Olaff the White, King of Dublin, 27.
Ollamh Fodla, the Peacemaker, 4.
Ordnance first used in Ulster, 115.
Orkneys, the, 29.
Ormonde, Earl of, 89, 94, 100, 104, 105, 106, 119, 121, 122, 123, 127, 137.
Orpen, Goddard, 44.
Ossian, the poet, 5.
Ossory, Earl of, 126, 127, 155.
— King of, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 53.
Ostmen, the, 38, 40, 43, 47, 48, 50.
Oswald, King of Northumbria, 19.

Pale, the English, 89, 127, 131, 132, 150, 155, 165, 166, 167, 169, 177, 178, 182, 192, 194, 197, 204, 209, 213, 215, 221, 240.
Palladius the missionary, 6.
Paris, George, 150.
Patrick, Saint, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 20, 39.
Paul IV, Pope, 161.
Pelham, Sir Wm., 239.
Pembroke (see Strongbow), Earl, 6.
Perrot, Sir John, 226, 240–4, 247, 252.
Philip II of Spain, King, 238.
Picts, the, 23.
Piers, Wm., 220.
Plantations first formulated, 99.
Poynings, Sir Edward, 112.
Poynings' Law, 112.
Protestantism in Ulster, 139, 142, 176.
Public Hospitaller, the, 14.

Randolph, Col. Edward, 212, 215.
Rathlin Island, 147, 204, 230, 236, 238, 243.
"Red Shanks", the, 143.
Regan, Maurice, 43–50.
Regnall, son of Olaf the White, 27.
Richard I, *Cœur de Lion*, King, 70.
— II, King, 97, 98, 99.
— III, King, 110.
Richmond, Duke of, 123.
Robert of Nottingham, Lord Mayor of Dublin, 88.
Rome, 19, 20.
Rutland, Earl of, 107.

St. Albans, 107.
St. Davids, Bishop of, 42.
St. Ledger, Sir Anthony, 133, 135, 136, 145, 147, 153, 157, 161, 164.
— Robert, 152.
— Sir Warham, 213.
St. Loo, Col., 216, 217.
Saul near Downpatrick, 7, 11.
Savoy, Duke of, 186.
Scandinavians, the, 23, 25.
Scoti, the, 2.
Scotia, ancient name of Ireland, 3, 5.
Scots in Ulster, 78, 83, 85, 143, 144, 145, 152, 155, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 180, 189, 192, 200, 204, 207, 213, 218, 219, 226, 232, 235, 238, 241, 246.
Scots of Galloway, 71, 77.
Scottish invasion of Ireland, 85.
Scrope, Lord, 102.
Scythians, the, 2.
Senchus Mór, the, 12, 13, 14.
Seneschal of Ireland, 54.
"Septs" in Ireland represent clans in Scotland, 12.
Sidney, Sir Henry, 172, 175, 203, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210–14, 222, 224, 237, 239, 244, 252.
Simnel, Lambert, 110, 111.
Sitric the Dane, 24.
Skeffington, Sir Wm., 123, 126, 127, 128, 130.
Slemish Mountains, the, 6.
Sligo, 80.
Smith, Professor Goldwin, 7.
— Thomas, 202.
— Sir Thomas, 227.
Somerset, Duke of, 105.
Stafford, Lord, 94.
Stanley, Sir George, 179.
Stanley, Sir Wm., 244.
Staples, Bishop of Meath, 153, 154, 160.
Statute of Kilkenny, the, 94, 104.
Stilicho, the Roman general, 5.
Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65.
Surrey, Thomas Howard, Earl of, 120, 121, 124, 125, 128, 129, 132, 133.
Sussex, Earl of, 164–9, 172, 176, 177, 178, 189, 192–9, 201, 203, 208, 211, 212, 221, 226, 235.
Swords, the town of, 30.

Tanistry, the term explained, 12, 101.
Tara in Meath, 4, 12, 27.
"The King's Enemies", 89.
"The Mere Irish", 89.
Theodosius, Roman general, 5.
Thomond, Earl of, 155, 178, 192, 195, 240, 241.
— kingdom of, 10, 77.
Thorkels (or Thorgist), 24.
Thuathall, King of the North, 4, 22.
Tipperary, 85.
Tirconnell, 80, 81, 155, 167, 176, 218.
Tirowen (or Tyrone), earldom of, 70, 80, 81, 105, 174, 175, 181, 185, 201.
Towton, battle of, 107.
Treaty of Windsor, 61.
Tribal system in Ireland, 12, 33, 133, 142.
Tuatha-da-Danaans, the, 1, 2, 3.
Tuaths, governing districts, 12.
Turges, chief of the Vikings, 24.
Tyrone, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of, 245–7.

Ufford, Sir Ralph, 92.
Ui-Tuirtri, 68.
Ulidia (Ulster), 37, 38, 65, 66, 68.
Ulidians, the, 37, 57, 68.
Ulster, Earldom of, 134, 137 138, 139, 175, 200, 201.

Ulster, Province of, 9, 10, 23, 25, 28, 33, 37, 56, 58, 59, 60, 65, 67, 130, 135, 143, 152, 155, 165, 168, 169, 238.
Uriel, Prince of, 37, 38, 39, 50, 56, 138.

Vivian, Cardinal, 66.

Walford, Sir Thomas, 227, 233.
Wallop, Sir Henry, 239.
Warbeck, Perkin, 111.
Wars of the Gael and Gaul, 26.
Warwick, Earl of, 107.
Waterford, 24, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 57, 58, 62, 69, 97, 98.
Waucop, the "Blind Bishop", Robt., 149, 150.
Westmeath, 9, 12, 85.
Wexford, 24, 43, 44, 45, 49, 53, 58, 59.
Wicklow, 99.
Wiltshire, Earl of, 105, 109.
Wingfield, James, 178.
Wolsey, Cardinal, 119, 122, 123, 126.
Worcester, Philip of, 69.

York, Archbishop of, 167.
York, Henry, Duke of, 112.
— Richard, Duke of, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108.
Youghal, 41, 85.

PRINTED AND BOUND IN GREAT BRITAIN

00030090

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 15 October, 2018